3 1223 00142 2287

920 B458w

63-78

WITH MASTER MINDS

INTERVIEWS

By

HERMAN BERNSTEIN

Author of "Contrite Hearts," "In the Gates of Israel," etc.

ILLUSTRATED

UNIVERSAL SERIES PUBLISHING CO.
302 Broadway, New York

920
B458w

SAN FRANCISCO
PUBLIC LIBRARY

COPYRIGHT, 1913, BY UNIVERSAL SERIES PUBLISHING COMPANY, NEW YORK.

63-78

Acknowledgment is due to the publishers of The New York Times and of The New York Sun for their kind permission to reproduce these interviews and drawings.—HERMAN BERNSTEIN.

CONTENTS.

		Page
Introductory Note		5
I.	Leo Tolstoy	7
II.	Sergius Witte	26
III.	Elie Metchnikoff	50
IV.	Bernard Shaw	72
V.	Henri Bergson	91
VI.	Auguste Rodin	107
VII.	Havelock Ellis	132
VIII.	Leonid Andreyev	156
IX.	Maximilian Harden	171
X.	Maxime Kovalevsky	186
XI.	The Portsmouth Conference	196
XII.	The Sheikh-ul-Islam	225

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

LEO TOLSTOY 7

SERGIUS WITTE 26

ELIE METCHNIKOFF 50

BERNARD SHAW 72

HENRI BERGSON 91

AUGUSTE RODIN 107

HAVELOCK ELLIS 132

LEONID ANDREYEV 156

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN 171

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY 186

THE SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM 225

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

It has been my good fortune to interview some of the master minds of Europe—the foremost authors, scientists, philosophers, statesmen and artists. If what I have reproduced of their views on various themes is not sufficiently vital or interesting, the fault is mine, not theirs.

The interviews collected in this volume have appeared during the past five years in leading journals in this country. I have made no changes in these articles now for the reason that I believe the student of international affairs may be interested in verifying some of the statements of these great men concerning passing events and in judging their forecasts of changes in the future.

The subjects touched in this book are varied and are of necessity treated in a frag-

mentary manner. Yet the flashes of thought of the men who are practically at the helm of activities of universal significance may present a peculiar interest to all sorts and conditions of readers.

If the interviews in this little volume should lead the reader to a closer interest in the work of some of these famous men, or if only a glimpse may be gained by the reader into the prophetic earnestness of Tolstoy, the zeal and optimism of Metchnikoff, the brilliant whimsicalities of Shaw, the clever statesmanship of Witte, the keen penetration or Bergson, the passionate power of Andreyev, the analytical force of Harden, the love of the beautiful of Rodin, the fearless progressiveness of Ellis, the many-sided erudition of Kovalevsky, and the quaint philosophy of the Sheikh-ul-Islam, I shall feel that this book has served its purpose.

New York, January, 1913.

HERMAN BERNSTEIN.

LEO TOLSTOY

BEFORE my departure for Yasnaya Polyana, Prof. Maxime Kovalevsky, one of Russia's foremost editors and authorities on international law, said to me: "You will see the only man in Russia who dares to tell the truth, even to the Czar, and who is not punished for it."

I left St. Petersburg on the day after the first convention of the representatives of the Russian press. The cream of Russian publicists had come together for the purpose of considering the most adequate ways and means of celebrating the eightieth anniversary of Tolstoy's birthday. Young and old, men and women, offered suggestions of how best to honor the man who is at present the Russian people's only pride. They spoke with boundless enthusiasm, with fire, with the zeal and earnest-

ness with which an enslaved people, suddenly set free, speaks of freedom.

A young journalist rose and in a forceful speech declared that the most suitable means of honoring Tolstoy would be for the entire Russian press on the 28th day of August, the birthday of Tolstoy, to condemn the wholesale executions that are being committed daily in the Russian Empire and to issue a general appeal that these death sentences be abolished. Then an officer walked over to the chairman and informed him that unless they stopped talking of the executions he would disperse the Convention.

But Russia—all Russia, except the Government, the Holy Synod, and the Black Hundreds—seems to have forgotten for a while its helplessness and its misery in its preparations to do honor to Tolstoy. The people throughout Russia are infinitely more interested in the Tolstoy celebration than in the work of the Russian "Parliament." Only from time to time the Union of the Real Russian People, composed of bands of dark reactionaries, in their organs, which are patronized by the Government, but which are ignored by the people,

attack Tolstoy in the vilest terms, branding him as an anti-Christ and a traitor. The Church has done all in its power to hinder the jubilee, and on the day that I started for Yasnaya Polyana I read in the newspapers that the St. Petersburg authorities had refused to legalize a society which was to be formed in honor of Tolstoy and which was to be known as the Leo Tolstoy Society.

On the way to Tula, in the train, a stout, red-faced "man with long hair"—a Russian priest—was seated opposite me. Eager to hear a Russian priest's view concerning conditions in Russia, and particularly his opinion of Tolstoy, I entered into conversation with him. When I told him that I was going to see Tolstoy I noticed how his face suddenly brightened, his red cheeks turned still redder, and bending over to me he said in a low voice, so as not to be overheard by the other passengers:

"You are a happy man. * * * When you see that saintliest man in Russia, tell him that you met a Russian village priest who sends him greetings from the bottom of his heart. Tell him that the priest you met bowed his head with shame for the manner in which the Church has treated Tolstoy. And tell him that the few

peasants who have learned to read, read nothing but the Bible and Tolstoy. They understand his works even better than the Bible."

As we turned past the little blue church I saw five women in bright parti-colored loose dresses laughing and singing and whirling about as they worked in the field, and the group as well as the colors of their clothes reminded me of Malyavin's masterly painting, "The Whirlwind," which is symbolic of chaotic, red Russia. Finally, after we had passed through numerous labyrinthine roads, at about 9:30 o'clock in the morning I found myself at the door of the little white house where lives and works the greatest artist and the most remarkable man in the world to-day—Leo Tolstoy. I was met by Nicholas Gusev, Tolstoy's secretary, an amiable young gentleman, who took me into his room.

Presently he entered. I cannot recall what I said when I shook hands with Tolstoy, but he put me at my ease immediately, and he strengthened my conviction that the greatest men are the simplest men, even as the chief characteristic of the greatest masterpieces is their simplicity. In the corner, like a striking

painting by Rembrandt, sat the grand old man, a black soft silk turban on his head, his wide-open eyes bright with kindness, such as I have never seen in any painting or photograph of Tolstoy.

"You will pardon me if I will drink my coffee as we speak," he said to me in English. Then, changing from English to Russian, he asked me about my impressions of Russia, and particularly about the popularity of Henry George's works in America.

I related to him the incident that occurred at the Convention of the Representatives of the Press.

"Yes," he said, "an appeal by the press for the abolition of executions in Russia would please me better than any other honor." He spoke in a soft, caressing voice, and the peculiar radiance of his face, the far-away look in his eyes—all really gave him the appearance of a saint, "a man not of this world," as Repin had aptly described him.

"Count, I should like to know your views upon the future of Russia," I asked.

"One of the most horrible superstitions," answered Tolstoy, after a minute's pause, "more harmful than all religious superstitions—one

which has caused rivers of blood—is that very strange superstition which sprang from the use of violence, and which makes people believe that a small number of men can now establish the social life of the whole community. This activity to transform the present order of things not only fails to help, but actually hinders the course of events. The activity of the revolutionists, like the deeds of violence committed by the Government, will not lead to any improvement in the life of our people. On the contrary, Stolypin, who hangs hundreds of people, or the revolutionists, who are trying to kill Nicholas II., are only interfering with the natural development of events. History is full of examples to prove this. The French Revolution produced Napoleon. The civil war produced the terrible negro problem in America."

Count Tolstoy shook his head, brushed back a tuft of white hair from under his turban, and added, as though to himself:

"Strange—very strange."

"Nearly fifty years ago," he went on slowly, "the great question that occupied all minds in Russia was the emancipation of the serfs. The

burning question now is the ownership of land. The peasants never recognized the private ownership of land. They say that the land belongs to God. I am afraid that people will regard what I say as stupid, but I must say it: The leaders of the revolutionary movement, as well as the Government officials, are not doing the only thing that would pacify the people at once. And the only thing that would pacify the people now is the introduction of the system of Henry George. I have outlined a plan according to which the agrarian question can be solved, and have submitted my plan to the Government as well as to the Duma. I have written about it to one who occupies a high post in the official world, and whose family I have known very well. But his hands are tied. His attitude towards the Court and toward his enemies is such that he cannot do anything in this direction. I do not reproach him. I only feel sorry for him. They do not understand that the proper solution of the land question is the only means of pacifying nine-tenths of the Russian population.

"As I have pointed out in my introductory note to the Russian version of 'Social Problems,' Henry George's great idea, outlined so clearly

and so thoroughly more than thirty years ago, remains to this day entirely unknown to the great majority of the people. This is quite natural. Henry George's idea, which changes the entire system in the life of nations in favor of the oppressed, voiceless majority, and to the detriment of the ruling minority, is so undeniably convincing, and, above all, so simple, that it is impossible not to understand it, and, understanding it, it is impossible not to make an effort to introduce it into practice, and therefore the only means against this idea is to pervert it and pass it in silence. And this has been true of the Henry George theory for more than thirty years. It has been both perverted and passed in silence, so that it has become difficult to induce people to read his work attentively and to think about it.

"It is true that there are in England, Canada, the United States, and Germany very good little journals devoted to the single tax idea, but they have only an insignificant number of subscribers. Among the majority of the intelligent people throughout the world the ideas of Henry George are unknown, and the indifference toward them is even increasing. Society does

with ideas that disturb its peace exactly what the bee does with the worms which it considers dangerous but which it is powerless to destroy. It covers their nest with paste, so that the worms, even though not destroyed, cannot multiply and do more harm. Just so the European nations act with regard to ideas that are dangerous to their order of things, or rather, to the disorder to which they have grown accustomed. Among these are also the ideas of Henry George. 'But light shines even in the darkness, and the darkness cannot cover it.' A truthful, fruitful idea cannot be destroyed. However you may try to smother it, it will still live, it will be more alive than all the vague, empty, pedantic ideas and words with which people are trying to it will be also with Henry George's ideal.

"And it seems to me that just now is the proper time to introduce this idea—now, and in Russia. This is just the proper time for it, because in Russia there is a revolution, the serious basis of which is the rejection by the whole people, by the real people, of the ownership of land. In Russia, where nine-tenths of the population are tillers of the soil, and where this theory is merely a conscious expression of

that which has always been regarded as right by the entire Russian people—in Russia, I say, especially during this period of reconstruction of social conditions, this idea should now find its application, and thus the revolution, so wrongly and criminally directed, would be crowned by a great act of righteousness. This is my answer to your question about the future of Russia. Unless this idea is introduced into the life of our people Russia's future can never be bright."

Thus ended our first conversation. Tolstoy advised me to meet Nikolayev, the translator of Henry George, who lives a little distance away from the Tolstoy home.

"Talk this matter over with him and then we will continue our conversation. By the way, you had better finish your breakfast," added Tolstoy with a smile, leading me to the dining room.

In the doorway I met Countess Tolstoy, holding a bunch of fresh white roses, and as she passed she said:

"Leo Nikolayevich is very fond of these flowers."

I came out on the porch, where I met Tol-

stoy's physician, Dushan Makowitzky. I inquired about Tolstoy's health.

"Three days ago Count Tolstoy had a hemorrhage, which weakened him very much," he said. "But he is recovering very fast. Until a few days ago he walked a great deal and took long rides on horseback."

We had passed the beautiful flower-bed in front of the porch and turned into the "alley of oaks," a straight, long alley, with spreading century oaks on each side.

"Here Leo Nikolayevich prays every morning," Dr. Makowitzky told me. From the "alley of oaks" we went through the forest, where the physician showed me a wonderful bit of scenery, which Tolstoy described in one of his famous passages in "Anna Karenina."

After an interesting conversation with M. Nikolayev, with whom I visited the homes of the peasants of Yasnaya Polyana, I returned to Tolstoy's room. He spoke to me of his latest work, "I Cannot be Silent," and of another essay, which is to appear shortly. I asked him what he regarded as his most important work thus far.

"I consider my artistic works as insignifi-

cant. My most important works are those dealing with religious subjects which I have written during the past ten years," replied Tolstoy.

"And your artistic works which were produced during the past ten years?"

"You refer to such works as 'Resurrection'? They are important in so far as they treat of religious self-perfection. That which is called artistic is aristocratic art. Therefore I am against it. I should have said that I value greatly all my plain folk stories. But my very best work is the 'Cycle of Readings.' Only one-tenth of it is my own work. It is composed of extracts I have made from the writings of the greatest masters of all time. This I consider as my most important and most useful work. It is my prayer-book. I use the selections for every day as my daily prayers. It is in every respect my favorite work."

In discussing the state of Russian literature at the present time, Tolstoy said:

"I have a very poor opinion of it." He hesitated for a while, then added: "I am rereading Pushkin now. My God, what a downfall, what a terrible downfall, from Pushkin

to the present-day writers! When I think of Russian writers I stop on Dostoyevsky, Turgenev and Ostrovsky. Chekhov? Chekhov was a graceful writer, a master of great irony, but his work is not sufficiently substantial; it lacks deep feeling."

Tolstoy smiled, halted a while, and said slowly:

"The denomination of a fraction is determined by the numerator. The greater the denominator, the smaller the fraction. If the denominator is 0, no matter what the numerator would be, the result would be zero. The decadent school of literature in Russia as well as in all other countries is made up of nothing save the greatest self-conceit, and this is the denominator which reduces it to zero. Ibsen, Oscar Wilde, and others, (Tolstoy enumerated many well-known French, English, and American writers, but later he asked me not to mention their names in this article) they are all decadents—all full of enormous self-conceit. When I read Pushkin I see modesty and beauty in every line. When I read the English or American writers I involuntarily think of Dickens and Thackeray, and the com-

parison is fatal to the new writers. In Dickens as in Pushkin the shortest piece is carefully conceived, elaborated and polished. There is no greater enemy of aristocracy in art than your humble servant—myself. Yet I must say that when art was supported and patronized by aristocrats the artists made all efforts to appeal to the refined tastes of those patrons of art, but when the masses became the patrons of art the artists, in their desire to appeal to the masses, have lost their refinement.

"There is a saying, 'You must appreciate the opinion of the stupid people, for they are always in the majority.' And this is the rule by which present-day writers are guided. Personally, though I appreciate it, I am against such forms of art as that of Dickens. I believe in the art that should be for the masses, but I cannot see even the symptoms of it as yet."

I asked Tolstoy to express his views on the Jewish question in Russia.

"Most of the things ascribed to me as my expressions on this question are exaggerated. To me all questions are solved by my religious view of life. All people are alike. Therefore

there can be no such thing as a Jewish question. It is as if you asked me about the Russian question, the German question, or the Japanese question. There is no Jewish question, no Polish question, no Russian question—all people are brethren. It is very sad and painful if we must make an effort to realize this. If there are any bad traits in the Russian Jews they were called forth by the horrible persecutions to which we have subjected them. How do I account for the anti-Jewish feeling in Russia? We often dislike more those whom we harm than those who harm us. This is exactly true of the attitude of the Russians toward the Jews."

At dinner Tolstoy brought up the Jewish question once more. He said:

"Herzen used to tell a story of a dispute he had heard between a Greek Catholic, a Roman Catholic, and a Protestant. The Greek Catholic declared that all the witches came from Kiev. The Roman Catholic said that the witches came not from Kiev, but from Tchernigov. And the Protestant swore he was sure that the witches came neither from Kiev nor from Tchernigov, but from Vologda. He was asked to settle the

dispute. His answer was:

" 'I cannot answer your question, for I do not believe in the existence of witches.'

"That is how I look upon the Jewish question. Just as I do not believe in witches, so I do not believe in these various national and political questions."

After dinner Tolstoy played several games of chess with a young composer, while Countess Tolstoy was telling me of the autobiography she was writing.

"We have been married forty-six years now. Another four years and we shall celebrate our golden wedding," said the Countess. "In my autobiography I am describing only those incidents in my life which have a direct bearing upon Leo Nikolayevich and his work. I have already written two volumes, but am only as far as the year 1890. This work of mine will be published only after my death."

Soon the young composer and M. Tchertkov, Tolstoy's most intimate friend, who lives but a few versts from Yasnaya Polyana, took their leave. Tolstoy rose, and, looking out of the window for some time, said ecstatically:

"What a wonderful sunset!"

It was indeed the most beautiful sunset I had ever seen. Tolstoy stood for several minutes, absorbed in thought. Then, turning to me, he said, in a low voice:

"Yes—yes, I am growing old and weak. My end is nearing rapidly. But the older I grow the happier I am. You cannot understand it. When I was as young as you I did not understand it. Yes, the older I grow the happier I am."

Suddenly he asked, in a soft yet searching tone:

"Tell me, what are your religious views on life? But be sincere. Few people are sincere when they answer this question."

I answered sincerely, as well as I could.

"Religion must be the highest form of love," said Tolstoy after a while, " or love is merely a word. All religions are based on love, but Christianity is based on the highest form of love."

"In life as well as in theory?" I asked.

"Meanwhile only in theory. But the world is growing ever more perfect. It cannot become perfect unless our inner religious consciousness is directed toward this highest form

of love. With the highest form of love as our law we will be perfect."

During the following half hour Tolstoy commented on several subjects. He spoke of Repin's latest work, expressed a lively interest in the coming elections in the United State, and was enthusiastic in his praise of William Jennings Bryan, who had visited him several years ago, and whose photograph I noticed in a conspicuous place in Tolstoy's workroom.

In speaking of the latest things Tolstoy had read, he said:

"I have recently read Haeckel on capital punishment. He says that capital punishment is a very good thing, for it coincides with Darwin's theory about the survival of the fittest. It is very strange. Who is to judge as to who is fit and who is unfit? I may think that Haeckel is unfit. Haeckel may think that I am unfit. Do you know? Numerous things which are now regarded as scientifically true seem to me ridiculous. It is my belief that in two or three hundred years from now Darwinism will be laughed at."

I asked Tolstoy about his latest work, and whether it was true that he was writing a new

novel, the central figure of which was a priest, as the newspapers had reported.

"I am working at present on several things that interest me more—religious treatises. The story mentioned in the newspapers is an old one. I worked on it some ten years ago—and it is yet unfinished. I may finish it before I die. I have several works of fiction which will not be published before my death. I have another plot for a novel which I may write soon."

And as Tolstoy spoke his voice rang with notes of youthful vigor and I felt that, notwithstanding the long struggle between Tolstoy the preacher and Tolstoy the artist, the artist within Tolstoy often asserted himself strongly and often came out victorious.

I shall never forget the impressions I received that day in Yasnaya Polyana. The wonderful sunset that I was fortunate enough to watch in the presence of the great master is one that can never be effaced from my memory. Nor shall I ever forget the kindly words of encouragement that Tolstoy said to me as I bade him farewell.

June, 1908.

SERGIUS WITTE

THE man who but a short while ago was the idol of the Russian masses, hailed as the hero of the peace, and the savior of blood-and-tear-stained Russia, the man who is more than any other responsible for the change that has come over Russia, for the so-called Constitution and the Duma—Count Sergius Witte—is not only away from the helm of the Russian Government, but as his attitude toward the Amur Railroad question has shown, he stands almost alone even in the Council of the Empire. Nevertheless a strong feeling prevails everywhere that Count Witte's day is not yet done, that he will be recalled during the first emergency.

A prominent Russian stateman, in speaking of Witte, said: "A mighty mind like Witte's

COUNT SERGIUS WITTE

—Drawing by Marcus

cannot be downed for a long time, especially amid Russian official mediocrities. Even in falling he never loses himself, and he is bound to rise again."

I met Count Witte at his home on Kamenno-ostrovsky Prospect. His large study, furnished with dark-red, massive furniture, holds a collection of paintings and engravings of the rulers of Europe. A fine print of President Roosevelt occupies a conspicuous position. Above Mr. Roosevelt's picture is an etching of Lord Salisbury. Czar Nicholas II. is there in different poses on the right of Witte's desk. A large painting of Alexander III. is on the left side, and the wall in front of his desk is almost entirely covered with the Count's ancestors. His huge desk was heaped with various books, and before him lay a copy of the speeches delivered at the Imperial Council on the Amur Railroad question.

Count Witte has aged considerably since his visit to America, and at first sight he gives the impression of a very old man. But as he speaks his eyes brighten up, the presence of a master mind is felt, and only at times, when he spoke of death, a note of hopelessness was

faintly heard, hinting the ephemeral nature of human greatness and power.

My first question was about the Duma.

"The third Duma is the best we have had thus far," answered Count Witte slowly. "It is perhaps not intelligent enough, not sufficiently experienced, but it is better to have a Duma like this than to have no Duma at all."

Count Witte paused awhile, and then added:

"The third Duma is also better in another sense. It is not as revolutionary as the previous Dumas. But when it comes to financial questions the Deputies are like children—they know absolutely nothing."

"Minister of Finance, Kokovtzoff, in a recent speech in the Duma thanked God that there is no Parliament in Russia. Is there a Parliament in Russia?" I asked.

"Let us better not speak of this," said the Count, as he shrugged his shoulders and smiled.

"In America you are regarded by many as the man who gave the Constitution to Russia. Would you perhaps tell me something about this?"

"That is quite true, I am responsible for it," answered Count Witte. "This is a matter for

the future historian. But let me explain to you what prompted me to decide that such a step was the only adequate one. Personally, I am opposed to such Parliaments and constitutions. I do not like all this talk—these disputes, these discussions, these arguments. I am not against listening to the opinions of other people, but after I have listened to all the advice and the opinions of others I act according to my own lights. Look at these," and the Count pointed to the portraits of his ancestors on the wall. "I have been brought up in environments to which constitutionalism and parliamentarianism were entirely foreign. I served under the most autocratic of recent Russian Emperors, Alexander III.

"I cannot say, therefore, that I love constitutionalism and parliamentarianism. There is really no love for constitutionalism in my heart or soul. But I urged it as a physician would urge a patient to take a laxative. The remedy was the product of my mind. I realized that this operation, if it may be called so, was absolutely essential. Without it the Russian Government was on the point of"—and the

Count lowered his hand to the floor—"do you understand? On the point of crumbling away. There are many people who cannot forgive me for having signed the Portsmouth treaty, for they believe that if I had not signed it at that time Russia would have come out victorious in the end. * * * It is their patriotic feeling that speaks in them, although they are convinced that this could never have happened. But I am quite satisfied with these achievements of mine—the signing of the Portsmouth peace treaty and the 'operation' by means of a constitution."

"I should like to know your opinion as to the significance of the German Emperor's recent speech which has attracted so much attention," I asked.

"In my opinion there is nothing unusual about the Kaiser's speech. I know Kaiser Wilhelm very well, and I admire him. I admire him because he is really the first German in Germany. He has the courage to say exactly what he thinks. If he did not possess this courage he would not only be a poor Emperor, but he would be a very poor German—"

"But is there no special significance in the

Kaiser's speech since it was delivered just at the time of the meeting between King Edward and the Czar?"

"When then should he have delivered it? That is why it has caused so much talk. Let me give you an example. It may not describe the situation exactly: it is merely an analogy. When several people get together and begin to ill-treat and tease some one it is natural that they should feel irritated when they see the ill-treated person turning upon them and showing his teeth. Whether Russia has done well by yielding to England is a question, but it was quite natural that a courageous man like Wilhelm should make the statement just at this time."

"I understand that there is at present a Pan-Slavic Convention in Prague. What are your views as to the efforts made in the direction of a federation of all Slavic nations?"

"I regard this movement as of very slight importance. All that was characteristically Slavic in our religion and culture has been submerged in Western European culture, so that there is no longer anything distinctly peculiar to Slavic nations. The time when nations were

actuated by ideals is past. Now nations are guided solely by their egotistical interests, not by ideals. The tendency among the Poles to join the Slavic federation and cling even to Russia is due simply to the setback they have received in Germany. But I regard this movement on the whole as rather insignificant."

"Could you tell me something about the Amur Railroad affair?"

"You probably know that I have opposed it all along, and that I am in the minority in this matter. But I feel that a tremendous blunder is about to be committed. Here I am looking over the speeches that were made in favor of this road. They have said that unless the Amur Railroad is built Russia would within four years be devoured by Japan, or by England, or by the United States. The only thing they did not say, which would have made their arguments complete, is that within four years the moon will fall down on Russia and destroy it, if the Amur Railroad is not built. The future will show whether I was right or they. We shall see. But it is possible that we shall not be able to tell this very soon, for I understand that it is planned to extend the time for

constructing the road from four to fifteen years. That would be more sensible."

"What is the state of Russian industries at the present time as compared with a few years ago?"

"Russian industries are at present in a rather sad state, but I expect a change for the better in the near future, when everything will be restored to more or less normal conditions."

Speaking of Russian literature, Count Witte said:

"I am not a specialist in this line. Perhaps it is because I am a little too old, but I cannot adapt myself to the taste of the reading public. To me the younger Russian writers appear like youngsters who daub paintings made-to-order-while-you-wait, which the public likes. These young men are suffering from enormous self-conceit. I am speaking of such writers as Gorky and Andreyev. Of course, Tolstoy is the greatest artist in the world, but his philosophy is absolutely childish. We read his naive treatises on economic questions merely for the flashes of his great genius which penetrate everything he writes. Our younger writers are going through a period of decadence."

"How do you account for the decline of Russian literature during the past few years?" I asked.

"How would you account, for instance, for the fact that the crops in France are sometimes good and sometimes poor? How would you acount for the fact that we have no Napoleon now? How would you account for the fact that we have no Washington now? If we must account for it, perhaps the decline of Russian literature, even as the decline of the literatures of other countries—for decadence has of late become the characteristic feature of almost every European literature—is due to the fact that this is the age of technical development and growth. In my younger days perhaps eight hundred of every thousand intelligent youths dreamed of becoming poets. Nowadays it is quite different. I have just been playing with my grandson. He is four years old. He does not like story books as the children of our days did. He is interested in automobiles and all sorts of mechanical devices. I can remember —when I was a child in Caucasia—the emotion I experienced when I saw the first telegraph erected there."

A flash of youthfulness brightened up his face for a while.

"No, no," he added after a pause "you can't account for the decline of our literature, even as you can't account for the failure of crops, even as we do not know why we have no Napoleon, no Washington now."

"What of the future of Russia? Do you think that the present situation will remain unchanged for some time, that there will be no fresh outbreaks?"

"Russia was great and powerful, and I think that in time it will become greater than it ever was. A country that is recovering from such a horrible, disgraceful, stupid, criminal war as we had is a country with a future. There will of course be outbreaks from time to time. At times the waves of discontent will rise mountain high, and then they will sink again. For some time to come there will be a periodic rising and falling of the waves. But this indicates life. A smooth surface would be a sign of death. I cannot say definitely how soon this bright era will commence. Nor can I say that it will be during my lifetime. Perhaps in fifteen years. Perhaps in five years. Perhaps even still sooner."

June, 1908.

Last night I had a lengthy conversation about the Jewish question with Count Sergius Witte, the former Premier of Russia. "The Jewish question is the most acute and painful problem before the Russian people to-day," said Count Witte. "One-third of the population of Russia is composed of non-Russian elements, such as Poles, Jews, Finns, Armenians, Tartars, and others. Yes, we have more than fifty millions of people whom Russia took unto herself in her eagerness to expand, to enlarge her territory, and yet we are pursuing a narrow Russian nationalist policy. Empress Catherine II wanted more land, therefore she took the provinces peopled by the Poles and the Jews. But nothing was done to make their mode of life tolerable.

"Nicholas I started a policy of reform with regard to the Jewish question. Alexander II carried on the work of reform along this line in a mild and admirable manner and if his policy had been continued we would have had no such a thing as a Jewish question to-day.

"But during the past twenty years Russia, instead of going forward in this respect, made rapid strides backward, so that now the Jews in Russia have no rights whatever.

"I have just recalled a very characteristic incident. When I served under Alexander III, who was the most autocratic of Czars, he said to me one day:

" 'Sergey Yulievich, is it true that you are so fond of the zhidi (a degrading name for Jews)?'

" 'Permit me to answer you by another question,' I said. 'Could you gather all the Jews of Russia, place them in ships on the Black Sea and then sink the ships? You would not do that, would you? The Jews must live among us, with us. Therefore we must give them the opportunity to live as we do. In my opinion, the only way of solving the Jewish question is to give the Jews equal rights.'

"Alexander III was silent for awhile. Then he remarked:

" 'Perhaps you are right.'

"But as I said before, we have gone backward for the past twenty years, the Jews have no rights of any kind at present, and it is impossible to go farther back than Russia has gone.

"In official spheres I have always been almost alone whenever the Jewish question came up for consideration. The same is true of the sit-

uation today. There is not a single repulsive thing conceivable that has not been attributed to me. The Union of the Real Russian People, through its organs, has conducted and is still conducting a bitter campaign of slander against me. According to them, I should have been hanged a thousand times. They have sought to discredit me before the Emperor as well as before the people, and in a measure they have perhaps succeeded."

"How can the condition of the Jews in Russia be remedied now?" I asked.

"The Jewish question cannot now be solved at one stroke," answered the Count. "Now that the Jews have been deprived of all rights for twenty years it would be dangerous to give them equal rights at once. Such a step would lead to terrible pogroms."

"Do you regard the Russian masses as anti-Semitic and do you believe that if equal rights were given to the Jews of Russia, the people would start massacres of the Jews of their own accord, without any 'outside' encouragement?" I asked.

"There is no anti-Semitism among the Russian masses. But if the Jews were given the

right to buy land, there would be a terrible conflict between the peasant population and the Jews. The agrarian question is a most painful wound in the body politic of Russia. The peasant is reduced to a state of despair because he has not enough land to maintain himself. It is quite easy to foresee what the outcome of such a conflict would be in Russian provinces where Jews are entirely unknown. This, of course, must be averted. When I was in America I explained to Schiff, Seligman, Straus and Kraus that now the Jewish question in Russia must be settled gradually, but they did not agree with me. Not being Russians they could not realize the danger of a hasty solution of the Jewish problem."

"But what is to be done now to ameliorate the condition of the Jews in Russia?" I asked again.

"In my opinion, the Jewish question can be solved entirely within twenty-five years. The first essential thing in the Jewish question as in the agrarian question is that the official spheres should begin to realize that these questions must be solved. Thus far there is no such feeling. My project would be to abolish the

Jewish Pale of Settlement immediately, but on condition that the Jews shall not be allowed to buy land in the real Russian provinces, say, for twenty-five years to come, so as not to stir race-hatred in the down-trodden peasantry. At the same time all educational institutions and government positions should be opened to the Jews. In a word, the only way of ameliorating the Jewish question is to give the Jews equal rights with the Russians."

June, 1908.

There are many opinions about Count Sergius Witte in Russia. The Czar, it is known, hates him for having hastened the conclusion of peace with Japan and for having overestimated the strength of the revolutionary forces. But for Witte the Czar and the reactionaries still believe the Russian army would have defeated Japan, and but for Witte there would have been no Constitution in Russia to-day.

Not that there is a real constitutional Governent in Russia now, but there is, after all, a semblance of a Parliament, and the more progressive members of the Duma from time to

time criticise the Government in their speeches, and these speeches are published in the newspapers and read by the people. All this is a tremendous step forward for the Russian people, and the Czar will not forgive Witte for having curtailed his powers as an autocrat.

The revolutionists have blamed and criticised Witte, believing that if he had not concluded the peace treaty at Portsmouth the revolution would have triumphed because of the inevitable defeats of the Russian troops in Manchuria.

The Constitutional Democrats, whom Witte summoned to his assistance when he was Premier, did not respond, fearing that he was not sincere in his promises of reform in 1905. A prominent Russian, a man of great learning and unblemised repute, in speaking of Count Witte, said to me recently:

"The part he has played in the history of Russia has not yet been estimated, nor even realized. I happen to be familiar with certain episodes of his activities in 1905, and I believe him to be one of the best patriots Russia has had, in the best sense of the word."

Whether people believe that Count Witte is an opportunist or a patriot, one thing is cer-

tain, the former Premier of Russia, as a statesman, towers head and shoulders above those who are ruling Russia to-day. Call Witte "the father of the Russian Constitution" ironically or in earnest, there is no doubt that it was he who wrung the manifesto of October 17, 1905, from the Czar, and though most of the reforms promised then have not yet been fulfilled, and some of the reforms introduced have since been revoked by Premier Stolypin, Russia is bound to work out its destiny as a liberated people, and, notwithstanding the machinations of the reactionary forces, the Constitution can no longer be revoked completely.

In the course of the numerous conversations I have had with Count Witte, he has made upon me the impression of a sincere man, and above all a man of great imagination, of picturesque viewpoints, wide horizons, deep religious feeling, and remarkable sagacity. Though no longer at the helm of the Russian Government, Count Witte is still regarded as Russia's foremost statesman, and his views on national or international affairs are eagerly sought in Europe as well as in Russia.

I met him again in his house on Kamenno-

ostrovsky Prospect, "the White House" of Russia at one time. Count Witte would not discuss the present condition of Russia at home or abroad, but expressed a keen interest in the efforts of President Taft as a peacemaker.

"The proposed arbitration treaty is in principle not a new idea," he said. "The ideal of peace is as old as Christianity, if not older. It is older than nineteen centuries and yet what little progress it has made! The real essence of Christianity is based on peace, on the prohibition of murder. I am with all my heart in favor of arbitration as an ideal, but it is difficult to believe that it can now be applied in our life, that it is not merely a vague though beautiful dream."

The Count rose from his armchair and, pacing his spacious study, continued:

"As I study, however, the cost and the tremendous burden of armed peace, to which all nations are striving even more now that arbitration and peace are talked about; as I scrutinize the meaning of armed peace, of standing armies and navies, I am wondering whether armed peace is not much worse than war. This may sound strange, but it is true, if we

look into the matter more deeply than the people who talk of peace are usually in the habit of doing.

"Let us examine the budget of the different nations. I believe that from 40 per cent. to 50 per cent. of all expenditures of Governments are absorbed by the standing armies and navies, by armed peace. I often ask myself whether armed peace is not really worse than war, with all its bloodshed and its horrors and its enormous costs. 40 per cent. or 50 per cent. of the budget goes to cover the expenses of wars in the past and the maintenance of armies and navies for wars in the future.

"Now imagine what mankind would gain if the powerful nations were really in earnest in their professions of peace and would do away with their enormous standing armies and navies, with armed peace. Think of the money, which represents the labor, the brains, the courage of mankind, that would be saved. Imagine to what great purposes such enormous sums of money could be put.

"I shall say nothing of the fashionable words 'education of the masses,' but if these sums of money were used on improving the sanitary

and hygienic conditions of the people, mankind would be a hundredfold happier than it is now. The people would live healthier, better, purer lives, and they would live longer, too. Then we should have real progress.

"The best of our people are ruined, the best efforts, the greatest minds, the strongest intellects are now wasted contriving and perfecting new life-destroying instruments. People are learning to fly. What is the first thought of those brave conquerors of the air? Are they inspired by any lofty sentiments? No. These airmen, encouraged by the Governments, at once contrive to turn the airship into a terrible, death-dealing machine.

"We are perfecting ourselves in the art of murder. Compare the wars of to-day with those of yesterday, with those of the remote past. We have fewer wars nowadays, but one modern war is more horrible, more costly in human life, than a score of wars in the past.

"The Russian-Japanese war was, perhaps, the most brutal war of the nineteenth century, and the next war, when it comes, will far outstrip the preceding wars in cruelty, horrors, bloodshed. For we have made progress in the

art of warfare. Now, if one nation gets airships for purposes of war, planning to destroy the enemy by hurling explosives upon his camps and his battleships, the other nations, not to be caught napping, naturally hasten also to provide themselves with similar life-destroying devices.

"We have fewer wars now, it is true. But is it because we have advanced, because we have grown more Christian in spirit, because we realize the brutality of war? Not at all. We are not conscious of any such feelings. We have fewer wars because of our economic and commercial relations. So long as the idea that war is a crime against the best qualities of mankind is not realized by the powers, all these talks about arbitration and peace will remain mere empty words.

"See how a man who preached real peace was looked upon in these days of ours. Take Tolstoy for example. He preached 'Thou shalt not kill.' He advocated peace and good will to all men, but everywhere people regarded his philosophy as unsound, his doctrines as those of an insane man. They all said: 'Oh, Tolstoy is a great artist; he is a wonderful writer of

stories and novels; he is a great student of the human soul, but he is not sane in his moral sermons, in his philosophy of life.'

"To me, I must admit, Tolstoy as a preacher seemed quite ordinary. I also admired him as a great artist, but as a teacher of life he gave me nothing new.

"He was paraphrasing Christ. He was repeating the things I first learned as a child. In the course of my first lessons in religion I was taught that man should be kind to his fellow man, I was taught the principles of peace and love. Tolstoy was merely stating in simpler form that which Christ and other religious reformers before had preached thousands of years ago.

"I had learned these things as a child, but I have been spoiled by life. When I grew up I saw that human beings, instead of taking seriously these fundamental truths, deceived and harmed one another in their efforts to achieve what they called success. I was spoiled by life when I realized that none of the noble ideals, none of the truths which constitute the essence of true religion, was applied in life.

"Therefore, I say, if the United States, or

England, or Germany, or any other great power, in coming to an understanding of settling disputes and differences by means of arbitration, would show its sincerity by disarmament, that would be quite another matter. But for a long time to come the nations will not do it, and therefore these peace negotiations are not serious.

"Armed peace is the heaviest burden humanity is carrying on its back. Look at the best efforts of the best minds that are wasted on infernal inventions—on the invention of smokeless powder, noiseless guns, and so forth.

"And what is more important than the budget, the heavy cost of standing armies,—millions of people are torn away from agriculture and other useful work. The armies and navies are robbing the nations of their best physical, mental, and moral strength, which is, of course, far more important than the budget.

"If a million men, now in the army, were working and earning, say, for instance, 50, or even 30, copecks a day each, what a vast increase in the capital of the land! For the main wealth of a country is its labor, and yet millions of the strongest young men are forced to lead

unproductive lives under the present state of affairs."

Count Witte paused at the window of his study, facing the street.

"Look at the people passing there," he said. "Think of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement. See their pale, emaciated faces. They are half starved. I have lived among them. I remember how families lived on nothing but bread and herring almost all the year around. And often they did not have enough of that either.

"Look at the people passing there," he said. ditions the bulk of the people live there! Perhaps if the enormous sums absorbed for armed peace were spent more wisely we should have more happiness everywhere.

"The state of armed peace is also responsible for the growth of Socialism, and even Anarchism, in most countries. These two—armed peace and Anarchism—go hand in hand. The burden of standing armies, the heavy taxes thus imposed upon the people in one form or another, make their life intolerable, and the result must shape itself in movements of discontent, protest, and revolution."

June, 1911.

ELIE METCHNIKOFF

IT was at the dinner table of Count Sergius Witte, during my recent visit to St. Petersburg, that I learned that Elie Metchnikoff, the world's foremost biologist, the head of the Pasteur Institute, was in Russia. The St. Petersburg newspapers did not know for three days that Russia's greatest scientist had come to visit Russia after an absence of many years, during which he had become famous throughout the world.

"Metchnikoff came to St. Petersburg quietly, unheralded. He has been in this city three days now, and none but some of his immediate friends know about it. He dined with us yesterday and will be here again this evening," Count Witte said to me.

Countess Witte spoke of Metchnikoff's mod-

PROF. ELIE METCHNIKOFF

esty, of his tenderness, and of the simple life the Metchnikoffs are leading near Paris. The ex-Premier of Russia commented upon the meagre income of the world's greatest scientist, remarking that if Metchnikoff did not have his little estate in Russia, it would be difficult for him to make ends meet on the salary he was receiving as head of the Pasteur Institute.

"When you meet Metchnikoff, do not speak to him about Russian politics. He has strange views on the subject," a prominent Russian statesman warned me.

When the newspapers discovered that Metchnikoff was in St. Petersburg, all the news of the day suddenly shrank into insignificance, and from that day until the day of his return to France Metchnikoff held the attention of all Russia. Not even the official reports that flooded the newspapers about the meeting of Kaiser Wilhelm and the Czar in the Finnish waters interested the Russian people so much as the visit of Metchnikoff. When it was learned that the great student of the human body had decided upon a pilgrimage to the great student of the human heart and soul, Tolstoy, the press was occupied almost ex-

clusively with the meeting of the two monarchs of universal literature and science, Leo I, and Elie I., Tolstoy and Metchnikoff. The little village in the Government of Tula, Yasnaya Polyana, and not the Standart, the imperial yacht on which the Kaiser and the Czar met, held the center of the stage in chaotic Russia. Which was the most effective rebuke to the Russian Government that had forced Tolstoy to seclude himself in Yasnaya Polyana, and Metchnikoff to seek and grace another fatherland.

The only thing that Russia seems to fear is adverse criticism in the foreign press, and it is for this very reason that the Russian Government, in its eagerness to impress public opinion outside of Russia favorably, from time to time makes a bluff at introducing some humane movement, such as the calling of the Peace Conference by the Czar, for instance, or at honoring Russia's great men. Thus was Gogol recently "honored" by an ugly monument. Metchnikoff, too, was honored. The government did not prevent him from lecturing on the cholera in the city of Duma and did not interfere with the university professors and students who gave hearty ovations to the man

the Russian people are proud of. But Gogol is dead and the Russian Government is not afraid of him, and Metchnikoff occupies himself with science, not with politics, and in Paris, not in St. Petersburg.

Prof. Metchnikoff received me in St. Petersburg, in the house of his friends, on Malaya Spasskaya, at 10 o'clock in the morning.

"I have just been tortured by the photographer," Metchnikiff said to me goodnaturedly. "I don't like these forced poses."

"This is one of the penalties a famous man is asked to pay for his fame," I remarked.

"Very true," he said, wiping his glasses and smiling broadly.

Metchnikoff, the man who has devoted his life to studying the problems of how to make mankind happy by combatting and wiping out the most dreadful diseases, and who writes his scientific treatises in a style so simple and vivid that many a famous novelist might envy, is indeed, in whatever he says and does, so radiant and brimful of the joy of living that he may be styled the apostle of optimism.

Before asking Metchnikoff about his work at the Pasteur Institute, I wanted to know his

impressions of Russia. That Metchnikoff, who has lived the greater part of his life in France, should be styled a "reactionary" in Russia seemed too strange to be true.

"How long is it since you left Russia, professor?" I asked.

"More than thirty years, but I have visited St. Petersburg about seven years ago," he answered.

"What are your impressions of Russia to-day?"

"My impressions of Russia? I have not seen much of Russia as yet, but I am not as pessimistic as my friend Count Witte. I find that Russia has changed for the better since I left it," Metchnikoff answered with a smile.

"Do you compare Russia of to-day with the Russia of thirty years ago, when you first left it, or with that of seven years ago, when you last visited it?" I asked.

"Thirty years ago Russia was better than seven years ago. To-day it is better than thirty years ago."

"May I know what has given you this impression?"

"There are several things that have con-

vinced me that Russia has made great progress. I was in the Duma yesterday and I heard the speeches made by the deputies. I assure you that I could hardly believe that I was in Russia. Perhaps they are not doing very much in the Duma, but they speak freely there, and the newspapers print those speeches and the people read the speeches. When I take up a Russian newspaper nowadays I cannot believe my own eyes. There are signs of freedom everywhere. Why, here I am to lecture to-night at the City Duma on the cholera, yet the authorities have not asked me to submit to them a synopsis of my paper, as they used to do in the days when I lived in Russia."

"Don't you think that the authorities have not asked you for an outline of your lecture because you are Metchnikoff and because the subject is rather safe from their point of view?" I asked.

"Quite the contrary, they should have been more cautious now than before. They should have feared that if I touched upon politics in the course of my lecture my word might carry more weight now than before."

"But don't you think the fact that your repu-

tation is international has something to do with the courtesy of the Russian authorities?"

"Perhaps," he smiled. "But I find the most hopeful signs in the educational institutions. A few years ago the youth of Russia was occupied exclusively with politics. The universities were not institutions of learning, but arenas for political activities. After the storm of 1905 a reaction has set in. The youth of Russia has returned to the more serious problems that confront mankind. It has abandoned politics and is studying human nature and life. The universities and the laboratories are again crowded with young people thirsting for knowledge. While I was a student there were two strong currents struggling against each other among the Russian youth. On one side was the educational movement, which forced its way into Russia from Western Europe. Many of us turned to science with enthusiasm, believing that the salvation of Russia lay in that direction.

"On the other side the revolutionary propaganda carried away many of the best young minds, which were thus lost to science. I went through that stage myself. I remember one in-

cident particularly well. When I was a gymnasium student, about 16 or 17 years of age, I received a letter from abroad in which I was urged not to be satisfied under any circumstances with a constitution in Russia, but to demand immediately and insist that Russia shall be a republic. After the assassination of Alexander II. it was impossible to continue any serious work in the Russian universities, and it was then that I understood that the youth of Russia could do more for Russia by devoting itself to education rather than to politics. I am glad to see that there are at present signs pointing to a normal condition in the educational institutions."

Truly, an apostle of optimism!

I asked Prof. Metchnikoff about his own work.

"First of all," he said, "I am glad to inform you that I have just received a letter from Paris telling me that the Pasteur Institute has come into a fortune which will enable us to carry on our work on a larger scale than before. Osiris, the Jewish banker, who died in February, 1907, left 40,000,000 francs to the Pasteur Institute, and now the formalities connected with

the gift are at an end. By this donation Osiris made himself one of the great benefactors of mankind."

"Osiris, as far as is generally known, never took any interest in philanthropic or educational institutions. He had the reputation of a miser. Can you tell me something about the man?" I asked.

"Osiris was indeed a very strange personality. He was a Bordeaux Jew, became a widower early in life, and had very few near relatives. After he had amassed his great fortune he became interested in archaeology. He went to Egypt with an archaeological expedition and brought some valuable objects from there. Osiris was not his real name. His name was Iffla, but he called himself Osiris in honor of the most popular of Egyptian gods—the god of light and health.

"At first he wanted to give his fortune to the French Government. He purchased a large number of Napoleonic relics and the house in which Napoleon lived, and wanted to turn it into a museum. But he met with so many obstacles in the shape of formalities and the attitude of the government towards him was so cold that he became disgusted.

"It was then that some one advised him to donate his fortune to the Pasteur Institute. A few months before his death he became ill and invited Prof. Roux of the Pasteur Institute. He then informed him that he was planning to leave his fortune to the Institute, and asked that the interest—600,000 francs annually—be used especially for investigations of tuberculosis and cancer. One of the conditions was that Prof. Roux and I visit him daily during his illness. He was a very peculiar man. His reputation as miser was well deserved. I recall a little incident during the time that I visited him when he was ill. The physicians had prescribed that Osiris eat a portion of ice cream three times daily. Osiris was greatly disturbed by this prescription and he complained to me.

" 'Where will I get the means for such luxuries? I can't afford to have ice cream three times a day.'

"He had no electricity in his house, but used candles instead, for the sake of economy. A niece of his, a very poor girl, came to him one day and asked him to assist her. Though she was penniless, Osiris refused. But when he learned several months later that she had gone

on the stage he sent for her and, praising her for having found work, gave her an allowance of 200 francs a month, and left her a small fortune when he died, in February, 1907, at the age of 82. He was almost a legendary figure, peculiar in every way. In our case the formalities connected with his donation were disentangled within two years, and I am glad that they are at an end at last. The Institute has already expanded as a result of his gift. We have bought another building which is to be used as a department for tropical diseases. Special investigations will be made of the so-called 'sleeping sickness.'"

"May I know whether you are pleased with the results of your recent investigations concerning premature senility?" I asked.

"We are working all along in this direction in the hope of finding the most effective remedy for premature senility. I am convinced the main cause of our growing old too fast lies in the microbes within the intestinal canal. All our efforts are therefore directed against these microbes which we are endeavoring to fight."

Prof. Metchnikoff touched his gray beard with his fingers and said lightly:

"I am only 64 years old, and yet see how gray my beard is. I look much older than I really am. This should not be. People will attain happiness only when they will grow old naturally, not as they now grow old without years, and when they will be able to use all their faculties, without suffering or pain, until the time sets in for their natural death. As I have pointed out in my introduction to the Russian edition of my 'Studies in Optimism,' science brings happiness to mankind. The relief that medical science brings to suffering humanity should not be regarded as merely a negative ideal. The absence of suffering, which means that man can make use of his perfect health, constitutes a very positive ideal, which is appreciated all the more as the years go by, and which makes it possible for man to avail himself of the other advantages of life.

"The idea, which has become rather popular, that the animal is happier than the human being is erroneous. Of course it is difficult to solve this question with any degree of certainty, because it is impossible to compare the feelings and the sensations of animals and human beings. But we can compare the differ-

ent feelings and sensations of man himself. We know that to many people the happiness afforded by science and the solution of scientific problems is undoubtedly higher than the happiness which animals are capable of feeling and which is attained by them through satisfying their hunger or other requirements. The consciousness of inevitable death, which animals have not, and which often makes man so unhappy, is an evil that can be remedied, that will be remedied by science.

"It is more than likely that science will teach us to live in accordance with the principles of orthobiotics, and will lead life to the moment of the approach of the instinct of natural death, when there will no longer be the fear of the inevitability of the end. Science can and must in the future give to mankind a happy existence. When science will have secured for mankind a normal cycle of life, when the people will forget the majority of diseases, even as they need not worry so much about the plague, cholera, diphtheria, rabies, and other scourges that threatened them until recently, then the efforts of gratifying the higher requirements of a spiritual life will come to the front even more than

now. But together with the quest after knowledge for the sake of the highest pleasure, that is, together with 'science for science's sake,' mankind will then even more than now seek happiness in the pleasure afforded by all kinds of beauty, that is by 'art for art's sake.' "

In speaking of his critics, Prof. Metchnikoff said:

"It may seem strange, but it is a fact, nevertheless. My own countrymen, the Russians, have been my harshest critics. Among others, K. K. Tolstoy, attempted to attack my theories, and especially my statements regarding the use of sour milk bacteria for hindering the decay of the intestines. He keeps repeating that I advise everybody to use sour milk simply because I was attracted by some food stuff that appealed to me.

"As a matter of fact, I caution people against the constant use of sour milk because, together with the helpful and useful microbes, it frequently contains also undesirable microbes. He argues that instead of the curdled milk other things may be used, such as raw fruits, cider, vinegar, and even light wine, and that these would produce the same effect. But I have ex-

plained very carefully in my works that it is not merely a question of swallowing acids, for they are absorbed before they reach the heavy intestines. And that is just where they are needed in order to offset the destructive bacteria. That is why I advise the use of live pure sour milk bacteria cultures in boiled milk, which reach the proper place alive and hinder the decay of the intestine. This has been established beyond any doubt."

I asked Prof. Metchnikoff whether progress had been made in the investigation of tuberculosis by the Pasteur Institute.

"The experiments with preventive inoculation have not proved successful. But even the simplest measures adopted in France against the sread of the disease have been very helpful. Thus, such things as isolating the children of tuberculous parents and separating the consumptives in the advanced stages of the disease from those in the less advanced stages, have already shown good results. The number of consumptives is decreasing in France."

"I see that they have started an energetic campaign against tuberculosis in America," Prof. Metchnikoff added after a while.

"What is your opinion of American scientists?" I asked.

"It seems to me that Americans are rather fond of sensationalism even in their science. When my volume 'Studies in Otimism' appeared in English it was called 'The Prolongation of Life.' I cannot understand why the title should have been changed. But that is not important. I have the greatest respect for American scientists.

"America has produced in recent years a number of first-class scientists. Jacques Loeb is perhaps the most important of them. I can foresee the time when America will outshine Europe by her scientists. I believe it is unfair to the American people that they are regarded everywhere in Europe as good business men only. As soon as a man shows any signs of talent here, the Americans try to attract him to America, and as they are richer and have more means for carrying on experimental scientific work, they secure our best men. It will not be long before our best scientists will be in America."

"When are you coming to America, professor?"

"I am afraid the voyage across the ocean will not agree with me," he answered with a smile.

Prof. Metchnikoff then spoke with great enthusiasm about the "grand old man" of Russia and his prospective visit to Yasnaya Polyana.

"I have always looked forward with the greatest pleasure and reverence to a meeting with Tolstoy, and I am happy that my hope is to be fulfilled now."

Upon my request for some facts concerning his biography, Prof. Metchnikoff said:

"I was born in 1845, in the Government of Kharkov. I am a Little Russian, a son of the steppe. My father was an officer of the Guards, who later became a general. My mother was a Jewess. I ascribe my love for science to my descent from the Jewish race. I studied natural science at the gymnasium and the university in Russia. Later I studied zoology and biology in Germany and Italy. I was professor in St. Petersburg and Odessa. After the assassination of Alexander II. I found that it was impossible to do any serious work at the university because of the political tendencies that crowded out the desire for study among the youth. Soon the Russian universities had no serious profes-

sors, and some of the best men in Russia who could achieve much for their fatherland were lost to Russia. I am speaking of the Russian Jews. The Russians have the mind, but the Russian Jews have in addition to that vivacity and energy to a remarkable degree. Russia has lost many great talents by persecuting the Jews. Prof. Minkowsky, the great mathematician, was a Russian Jew who had to leave Russia simply because he was a Jew. The same was true of the other Minkowsky. My own assistants, Bezredko and Weinberg, are men of great talent, and I am sure that they will be shining lights in the scientific world. But as they are Jews, they could not develop in Russia, and Russia has lost them."

Metchnikoff paused for a while and added optimistically:

"I feel quite certain that there will be a change even in this. The Russian Government will realize its errors and will improve the condition of the Jewish people, for its own sake, if for no other reason."

June, 1909.

I met Prof. Metchnikoff again in Paris after his visit to Yasnaya Polyana. He received me in his laboratory at the Pasteur Institute.

"I am delighted with my visit to Tolstoy," he said. "I must confess that I never expected he was such a splendid man. He is really wonderful. His feelings, his heart, are developed to the highest degree of sensitiveness and delicacy."

"Did you discuss his works with him."

"Yes, I told him that I value his purely literary work more than his philosophical work. Tolstoy replied that he considered his philosophical work of more importance than his artistic work. He said that it was very easy for him to produce his artistic work, while his philosophical work proved more difficult, and it was for this reason that he loved it all the more. We spoke about religion and science. He took a deep interest in my work and was particularly eager to have me tell him what I knew about cancer. We walked in his garden and I picked out some leaves with wart-like growths upon them, and he was very much interested in my explanations of these growths. In speaking of religion and science, he said that people were

wrong in believing him to be opposed to religion or science. What he opposed, he said, was the hypocrisy and the falsehood that the Church had introduced into religion. As for science, Tolstoy said that he opposed the narow-minded so-called scientists who believed that, having made some small discovery, they should be considered as superior people—benefactors and teachers of mankind."

"May I know your own views on religion?"

"I am an atheist, as you will see from my 'Studies in Optimism.' The fact that the majority of the people believe in God and in future existence is based not upon religious instinct but may be explained by the influence of education. That is why we often see that people who in their childhood believed in what they had been trained to believe, in time lose their faith in those things as their minds develop."

"I understand that you expressed yourself very strongly about the inferiority of women while you were in Russia. May I know your views on this subject?"

"Women are superior to men—in affairs of the heart," said Prof. Metchnikoff, with a smile.

"Genius, I believe, is a masculine quality, just as a beard is, for instance, or as strong muscles are. That women are inferior to men they have demonstrated most effectively in the domains where they have always reigned supreme—music and cooking. Women have not produced a single composer of note, and even in the kitchen they have not been able to maintain their supremacy. If they want a good cook they get a man. Of course I am not opposed to women studying the arts and sciences, but I do not believe that women will ever amount to much as scientists. I need hardly say that there are exceptions, just as there are bearded ladies, but at any rate, they are superior to men in affairs of the heart, and that is a great deal. As for women scientists, it is better that they occupy themselves with science than with fashions."

Before leaving, Prof. Metchnikoff presented me with a set of his works in Russian.

"Do you think that a reading of 'Studies in Optimism' will help to prolong life, Professor?" I asked.

"It may shorten your days during your voyage across the Atlantic if you have nothing else to read," he laughed.

ELIE METCHNIKOFF

When I left the Pasteur Institute I carried away a deep impression of a strong, simple, lovable personality, an apostle of optimism, who has made a religion of science even as Tolstoy made a science of religion.

June, 1909.

BERNARD SHAW

OF all the English writers I was particularly eager to meet Bernard Shaw, the man who is hated or admired; regarded either as a great genius ahead of his time, or a literary buffoon seeking for notoriety; either a great reformer employing startling methods of expression to attract attention to what he has to say, or an insincere scoffer, jester, cynic, and destroyer.

I met him in his home, at Adelphi Terrace, London. As I walked up the staircase, I saw a sign over the small gate on the first story bearing the name of "Mrs. Bernard Shaw." His own name was not there.

I rang the bell and a rather good-looking maid opened the door. As Mr. Shaw was expecting me at the appointed hour, the maid

BERNARD SHAW

—Drawing by Dart

ushered me into his study—a spacious, bright, cheery room. Shaw was seated on a couch and near him, on a low stool, sat his secretary, a young woman, taking dictation. When I entered, the secretary rose and walked out, and I remained alone with Mr. Shaw.

Bernard Shaw is a rather tall, well-built kindly looking man; gray, yet youthful, vigorous, almost always smiling. He wore a neat brown suit of the latest cut, which gave him quite a dashing appearance.

He commenced by asking me some questions about Russia. Then he spoke of Tolstoy, and finally gave vent to his feelings about America. He still seems to feel the sting caused him by the suppression of his play, "Mrs. Warren's Profession," in New York several years ago.

Shaw has been called the most piquant personality of our time, playing the role of Puck in the drama as well as in life, but it seems to me that if one were to look for a character in modern literature that would resemble the intellectual make-up of Bernard Shaw it would be difficult to find anything nearer than Andreyev's Anathema, the spirit of reason, reflecting the negations and yearnings and doubts

of humanity, trying to pierce the unknown and to shake the conventionalities of goodness.

Like Anathema, Shaw seems to be full of inconsistencies, yet keen and brilliant. Now weak, now strong, now kind, now cruel, always searching and defiant, he sees the passing show, the efforts and achievements, the injustices and sacrifices, and as he looks on he laughs a kind of Mephistophelean laugh.

In the course of our conversation I asked him about Tolstoy's essay on Shakespeare in which Tolstoy tried to prove that Shakespeare was not only not a great dramatist but not even a mediocre writer.

"That was a silly little book," replied Shaw. "Tolstoy happened to take one of Shakespeare's very best plays and tried very hard to prove that it was worse than the play from which Shakespeare drew his theme. As a matter of fact, 'King Lear' is an excellent play, and Tolstoy was entirely wrong in his analysis of Shakespeare."

"Tolstoy was a prodigious genius," he went on as he reclined on his couch, with a smile. "But he was devoid of any humor or fun. That's why he could not understand me. He

was too dead serious and he was almost childish in the philosophy he evolved and the doctrines he preached.

"I cannot understand how so deep a student of human nature and so close an observer as Tolstoy was could expect people to follow his rules of life which even a child would at once recognize as impractical, as hopelessly infeasible. Yet he went on with his theories notwithstanding that his followers suffered disaster.

"But as an artist he was wonderful. With one stroke he knew how to make certain things appear ridiculous. He made no comment. He simply pointed at something in passing, as it were, and the effect was tremendous.

"I shall never forget the reference to the manner of exercises made by one of the jurors in the jury room in 'Resurrection.' Without the slightest comment he makes the thing thoroughly ridiculous. Or, in his story, 'The Death of Ivan Ilyich,' where he describes the blue velvet thrown over the coffin—he makes no comment whatever, but somehow after reading it you feel how ridiculous funeral ceremonies are."

Much interest is just now centred on Bernard Shaw on account of the authorized critical biography of him which was published a few days ago. In referring to it, Mr. Shaw said with an air of great seriousness:

"This is a very good book. One can really get an excellent idea of myself and my works by reading this book; but there is not a single accurate statement in it.

"Dr. Henderson has published in the volume pictures of houses in which I never lived, and if he mentions a newspaper in connection with some of my work he invariably mentions the wrong one. He often gets me into trouble by quoting things which I have never said.

"In one place, for instance, he refers to a statement which I am supposed to have made about my unfriendly relations toward women. Now, even I would hesitate to say that I had unfriendly relations with women. On the whole, however, the book is very good, but it has what I would call the inaccuracies of higher mathematics. Dr. Henderson, you know, is a mathematician."

When our conversation turned to America and things American, I asked Mr. Shaw why he

has never visited the country where some of his plays have been so successful.

"Why should I go to America?" wondered Mr. Shaw. "There is nothing there that can interest me. When America is a real American Nation, when the American type becomes fixed, when the American's skin turns red and his forehead recedes, then it will be interesting to go to America.

"But at the present time, what are the Americans? An appalling, horrible, narrow lot.

"Take such a small detail as the incident with the women who wore harem skirts in New York. They were jeered at and had to run for their lives. Now, the harem skirt is really a splendid thing, and there is not the slightest cause for jeering those who wear them. But America is a land of unthinking, bigoted persecution.

"Take another incident, the Gorky affair. Even if Gorky had come from a country where divorces are easily granted, the treatment he received at the hands of Americans would have been brutal. But Gorky came from Russia, the land of barbaric laws. Therefore I say

America's outrageous treatment of Gorky put her outside of the pale of civilization, if she ever was within the pale. This should be said to America. It may do her some good."

"Are you not interested in the development of the American people—in their achievements?" I asked.

"But they are not developing. That is why they don't interest me. And I am sure they would not be interested in me if I came there. I am not an elephant, so I would not arouse their curiosity. They have much untrained religious enthusiasm, and the trouble with them is that each one is working out his own ideals individually instead of having one common religion or ideal for all."

"Do you mean to say that you are opposed to individualism, to individual self-perfection?" I asked.

"We must be guided by certain standards. Anything silly or rotten that I write is smashed by public opinion and done for. If I lived on a desert island I would perhaps be writing silly and sentimental romances, which are of no use to anybody. But I am working hard. I argue and debate and weigh every

phrase, and work on it and reconstruct it until it is quite simple. It is absolutely true that easy writing is hard reading and hard writing is easy reading.

"Now to return to America, I believe she ought to have a religion of her own. The Pilgrims took the Bible along with them when they emigrated to America. The Christian religion was a real religion in the Middle Ages; then a state of skepticism set in at the time of Shakespeare.

"Since the Pilgrims left their countries because of religious persecution, it was quite natural that they should take their religion along with them. But it would have been much better for them if they had taken the religion of the Indians and developed it. At the present time we all wear clothes that do not fit us. We have the Christian religion, which is the Jewish religion, an Oriental religion—and it does not fit us. It was good for us when we were Orientals, when Judaism and later Christsianity came into the world.

"America is overridden with old-fashioned creeds and a capitalist religion. Mr. Roosevelt is a typical expression of what I mean.

"There is not a single credible religion in the world to-day. No educated man in Germany or here or even in America—if there are such men there—believes in the things our religions would have us believe. A new religion is necessary."

Mr. Shaw spoke with apparent seriousness, but there was a peculiar smile in his eyes.

I asked him for his views on the peace movement which is now attracting so much attention everywhere, particularly in England and the United States.

He burst into laughter.

"Do you take this seriously? I am fifty-five years old now, and I have passed through this peace wave several times. I recall one peace meeting in particular. It was several years ago. I believe Sir Arthur Conan Doyle presided at that meeting. I was an invalid at the time and came to the meeting on crutches.

"They spoke of peace there. Everybody was in a peaceful mood then. People were sending Christmas cards to one another. Though I was on crutches, I believe I smashed that meeting. You see, we were building torpedo boats at the time, and any one who would have dared

to be opposed to our building those torpedo boats would have been mobbed.

"International war will be stopped some day as duels have been stopped. All countries should combine, and the one that fires the first shot should be dealt with severely. But all this talk at present is nonsense. We talk of our command of the sea. This is ridiculous. We may as well talk of our command of the sun and the moon."

Mr. Shaw leaned back comfortably on the couch, and after a brief pause went on with a smile:

"You must not think that we don't like the Americans who come over here. We like them very much—that is, our hotelkeepers and shopkeepers do. The Americans come over here and spend so freely the money made for them by the unfortunate people in America. We live on your earnings, on the sweat of your people, of the little children in South Carolina and other States. That is all very nice for our hotelkeepers and shopkeepers. Also for France and Germany. We like the Americans very much."

Mr. Shaw spoke for some time in this strain. Then our conversation turned to the drama in England.

"The drama in England is hopeless," said Mr. Shaw. He paused a while, then added:

"I should have said the drama in England is hopeless just now. You see I was born at an extremely unfortunate moment for myself. I came to England when I was twenty years old, in 1876. Compulsory education was introduced in England in 1870. The newly literate needed and bought the same kind of literature we used to buy in the penny numbers—sentimental novels dealing with criminal heroes. The serious works of the dramatist and the novelist appeal only to a very few.

"That is why Stevenson's 'Treasure Island' was successful—because he gave the newly literate a story of the type they liked in their penny thrillers, but of course it was beautifully written. He had to stoop to the masses. There are several really fine writers in England to-day who are compelled to write sentimental stuff to keep from starving.

"The same is true of the drama to-day. The old sentimental novels are turned into dramas, and these popular dramas drive out the higher

drama. The only difference between the drama of to-day and the drama of yesterday is that the criminal heroes are somewhat better to-day.

"It is quite natural that these plays as well as the silly society plays are successful. If you or I go to see such a play we may find it dull, and would be bored by it, but the large mass of the people do not want to think; the intellectual play drives them away.

"The clerks, the hard-working people like to see fine clothes and elegant manners and society life portrayed on the stage. They find pleasure in such plays and therefore go to see them.

"That is why I told Mr. Frohman when he planned to give serious dramas here, that he would not be successful. Such plays should be given in endowed theatres.

"I watched The New Theatre in America with some interest, but they made a blunder at the very outset. Mr. Barker was invited to take charge of the productions at The New Theatre, but when he saw the size of the house he felt that he could not make The New Theatre idea a success, and he declined the invitation to be connected with it."

"What of your own plays, Mr. Shaw? Are you pleased with the reception they are getting," I asked.

"Germany, Sweden, Austria—these are the countries that stand by me. France, the most backward country, and Paris, which is a hundred years behind other capitals of Europe, may soon see one of my plays produced there. A French manager has made a contract with me for the production of my play, but I shall not believe that they will produce it until I have seen it.

"One of my plays was produced in Vienna. It was announced for four performances. But the first performance proved to be such a fiasco that my translator and the manager there were in despair.

"They wanted to take it off the boards after the first performance. But finally they decided to give the four performances as announced. Then it turned out to be one of the biggest successes. They are also producing some of my plays in Russia, particularly 'Mrs. Warren's Profession.' This is a good, old-fashioned play to bring children to see.

"When 'Mrs. Waren's Profession' was published in book form, I was afraid that some

stupid people might buy the book and, without reading it, send it to the children as Christmas presents. People are generally in the habit of doing such things. So I called the volume 'unpleasant plays,' to prevent grown-up people from giving it to children. In the following edition I marked it still more strongly by a quotation on the title page which I felt sure would make cautious mothers hide the book from their children.

"Imagine my surprise when one day a lady I know said to me: 'Mr. Shaw, your book is a great favorite with my children.' 'What book is it?' I asked. 'Mrs. Warren's Profession,' she answered. .

"I asked her to tell me why the book was such a favorite with her children. She said that they liked the story, particularly the love scenes, and they were especially happy when it turned out that the lovers were sister and brother. When I asked what they thought of Mrs. Warren, she told me they considered her a very funny and amusing person who kept a fried fish shop. Thus you see they found nothing but purity in the play.

"You must be careful as to what books you give to grown-up people, for they may be cor-

rupted—but children may read anything. I believe now that children, up to the age of sixteen, may read anything and everything. After that age their books should be carefully chosen for them. After the age of forty people must not be allowed to read anything at all.

"We are committing the greatest crime against our children by bringing them up as we do. The present school system is abominable."

"How, in your opinon, should the children be educated?" I asked.

"The streets of a great city, as well as the streets in the smaller towns, should be the place where children could get their education. That is why cities should be beautified, the streets should be the proper school of life. Children should get enough pocket money—if their parents cannot afford to give it to them, the State ought to provide that, instead of giving pensions to the old."

"But how would the old people manage to live if they are no longer able to work?"

"The old should be killed when they can't work," replied Mr. Shaw, with a smile. "The

problem confronting us is how to bring up the young, the children. At present the parents regard them as a nuisance, they want to be free, so they send their children to school. There they find turnkeys called teachers, and beastly books called schoolbooks. The children are entrusted in the care of irritated and unsympathetic men and women who hate them and who cannot manage their own affairs.

"I would teach them a little reading, enough to read the signs on the streets, and to count money. Then, if they are interested, if they want to know more, they will learn more. There should be schools, but children should not be compelled to attend school. And the schools should not be free. The children should go to school as we go to the theatre. If a child wants to go to school, it may go, pay admission and stay as long as it likes. If the teacher is not courteous, the child will simply get up and walk out.

"Suppose that people who come to see my plays were compelled to come and sit through the performance; if they were beaten and forced to come, do you think they would like the play? The same is true of the children and the present system of education."

In discussing the drama abroad Shaw touched upon the recent anti-Semitic demonstrations in Paris on account of Henri Bernstein's latest play and upon the Jewish question in general.

"I could never understand what they call the Jewish question. I think the Jewish question everywhere is due to the Jew's business ability and honesty. If a Jew makes a bargain with you he means to keep it, and means you to keep it, too. The Englishman will sign away everything when he needs money, but he does not mean to keep his promise when he makes the bargain.

"Of course there is no special antipathy against the Jew in England, but whatever there is, simply comes from the Jew's straightforward business integrity, which infuriates the thick-headed Englishmen. I think that Shakespeare sized up the situation to a nicety in 'The Merchant of Venice.' Shylock made a bargain with Antonio, kept it, and meant Antonio to keep it. Antonio, who is really a sentimental Englishman, was ready to sign away everything in order to get the money from the Jew, without the slightest intention of ever returning it. When the Jew wanted Antonio

to fulfill his end of the contract the mob jeered and mocked him.

"This, I believe, is true everywhere. The Jew is intelligent, industrious, and hard-working, and when he makes a bargain he knows exactly what he is doing.

"Of course, the Jews have changed a great deal. The modern Jews are fond only of music. They are almost as stupid as Englishmen.

"The prejudice against the Jewish race is still deep-rooted because people do not pause to analyze the prejudice. I think Macaulay was right when he said that if you start a prejudice against people with red hair there would soon develop a general hatred of them, and they might be massacred.

"The massacres of the Jews in Russia were managed exactly as the massacres of the Armenians in Turkey. The Sultan gave the order in Turkey, and the Czar gave the order in Russia."

Mr. Shaw then spoke again of the New Religion in his peculiarly brilliant manner, and wound up by saying:

"I say that Life Force is God. But the Englishman objects to this. He says Life Force

is a foreigner, while God is an Englishman. That is where we disagree."

It was now four o'clock in the afternoon, and Mr. Shaw had to go to The Little Theatre to direct the rehearsal of a play whose authorship is not announced on the programmes or the posters. It is called "Fanny's First Play," a play within a play, followed by an epilogue in which some of the people pass judgment on the play and its author. By the time this is published it will probably be known that "Fanny's First Play" is Shaw's latest play.

May, 1911.

PROF. HENRI BERGSON

—Drawing by Dart

HENRI BERGSON

DURING my recent stay in Paris I was delighted to receive an invitation to meet the man who is regarded as the profoundest and most original thinker in France to-day, Prof. Henri Bergson.

Bergson's works, "Time and Free Will," "Matter and Memory," "Creative Evolution," and his essay on "Laughter," have been translated into many languages and his influence is making itself felt in many lands. In England Bergson is well known and well liked and the English claim a special share in him, for they believe that Bergson's mode of thinking was determined by his close study of the English philosophers, by the influence of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, of Locke, Berkeley and Hume.

In Germany Bergson's works are attracting

much attention. Hermann Graf Keyserling, the distinguished German writer, says of Bergson's work: "His philosophy is perhaps the most original work since the days of Immanuel Kant." In Russia various editions of his works have appeared and numerous studies by the foremost Russian publicists are published from time to time. In France Prof. Bergson is extremely popular. Unlike most philosophers that preceded him he is a prophet honored in his own land. He is the most popular of lecturers and his lecture room is always crowded with students as well as with women of fashionable society. The Bergson school of philosophy is in great vogue. It appeals alike to the deep student and to the faddist.

An acute thinker, Prof. Bergson possesses a masterly, clear and direct style. He presents his views on most difficult themes with fascinating clearness. Every great thinker treats the eternal problems in some new way, and though so many influences are claimed to have shaped the thoughts and philosophy of Bergson, he is original, for he has treated the great problems of life in an entirely new way.

Bergson does not give us a definite system. But he opens wide the door of the future and

shows us a great variety of new ways and new aims and new possibilities.

Mr. Carr, in his able little work on Bergson's "Philosophy of Change," which was revised by Bergson himself, has summarized the philosophy of Bergson in the following terms:

"Philosophy reveals to us a reality that is consistent with the satisfaction of our highest ideals. It discloses the life of the spirit. It may give us neither God nor immortality in the old theological meaning of these terms and it does not show us human life and individual conduct as the chief end, purpose and centre of interest. But the reality of life is essentially freedom. Philosophy delivers us from the crushing feeling of necessity that the scientific conception of a closed mechanical universe has imposed on modern thought. Life is a free activity in the open universe. We may be of little account in the great whole. Humanity itself and the planet on which it has won its success may be an infinitesimal part of the universal life, but it is one and identical with that life and our struggle and striving is the impetus of life. And this, above all, our spiritual life means to us, the past has not perished, the future is being made."

I met Prof. Bergson in his home, in Villa Montmorency, in Auteil, Paris. He spoke with enthusiasm about America and American thinkers and never tired of expressing his admiration for the late William James. Prof. Bergson is looking forward with great interest to his first visit to America, next January, when he will come both to teach and to study us.

"You are doing such an immense deal of work in philosophy and psychology in America, and such splendid work," began the French philosopher. "The quality of the work done by American philosophers and psychologists is really remarkable. I consider William James one of the greatest men America has produced. I may even say, one of the great men of all countries and all times. I knew him well. I met him and spoke with him a number of times and I corresponded with him considerably. He was a wonderful man. But there are a number of other great psychologists in America. You have Muensterberg, Royle and many others."

"I understand that you are engaged upon a new volume in the form of dialogues. May I

know with what subject you are dealing in your forthcoming work?" I asked.

"I have a special way of working," replied M. Bergson. "I may call it an anarchistic way. When I take up a new subject I just work it out in my own way. I take several avenues in my efforts to attain results. Very often I gain much information in the course of my work upon certain subjects, but no precise work comes out of it. So I really cannot say whether the book upon which I am engaged now will come out or not, for I am only in the process of building it. As yet I cannot say whether I shall succeed in building it up or not."

"I have no system in philosophy. I have no simple set of rules from which I could evolve my philosophy. In philosophy there are different problems and each problem must be solved by special methods. The methods employed in solving one problem will not do when you attempt to solve another problem. I cannot always deduce from answers I have already given the answers to other problems. There must be a new answer to every new question.

"I was once interviewed by a correspondent who wanted me to answer a number of ques-

tions. I told him that I had no opinion on those questions. I said that each of those questions would take from ten to fifteen years to answer, and if he would come back fifteen years later I might be able to give him the answer."

"But there are general questions on which you have formed opinions, and I would like to know your views on some of these questions," I remarked.

"Oh, yes, there are provisional answers. But an opinion is of no great importance if it is given in an offhand manner. One must be impregnated with the subject; one must study and analyze it thoroughly and have intuition. Now, intuition is not at all guess work. Many mistakes have been made by those who speak of my theory of 'intuition' as guess work. I believe it is necessary to be impregnated with the subject if we would find a solution to it. We must constantly learn. We must become students again. We must start the subject anew. And that may lead us to a new science. I have several times become a student again. I have several times taken up a new subject. My present work will deal with ethics and aesthetics, with the principles of morals and the principles of art.

"I have been greatly impressed with a work on ethics written by Prof. Dewey. I find the book very interesting, very original and quite new."

Prof. Bergson paused a while. Then he added:

"I am interested in the various religious movements in America, as far as they touch upon the ethical questions. I am interested in the ethical culture movement. I have met Prof. Felix Adler and am greatly interested in his work. He impressed me as a very penetrating and earnest man, and I think he will succeed, for I believe that his movement has a future.

"I am interested in the religious movements in America because it strikes me that there is more life in America in this direction. In America religious and ethical questions are becoming a living study, while with us in Europe they remain theoretical questions. But to my great regret I shall have no time during my brief stay in America to study closely any of these movements."

"What accounts for this difference in religious movements between America and Europe?"

"First of all the Americans are practical people. They are supposed to be the most practical people in the world to-day. They want definite rules for conduct and ethics. It is a curious fact that modern philosophers have neglected this. Leibnitz and others have given us systems of ethics, but their systems are too general. Even Kant in his great works on ethics, in his masterpiece on practical reason, laid down formulas that are far too vague to be of any use in practical life. Kant said: 'Always act so that your action may become a universal law.'

"This is not quite easy to apply in practical life. Try to apply this formula to the problem of capital and labor, to the differences between employer and workman. Each one would attempt to act so that his action might become a universal law. How are we to judge who of the two is right? Each of them would claim that his action should be the universal law. And there is no real ethics without real answers to these most difficult questions. Of course, a philosopher's answers cannot be as precise as the answers of a mathematician.

"America seems to realize that the philo-

sophers have not given the real answers to the vital questions. And therefore there is a great feeling for these religious and ethical movements in America. I am deeply interested in this relation between religion and ethics."

"You have written in some of your works about the immortality of the soul," I said. "Have you made any further investigations into this subject?"

"I have studied the diseases of the mind and the diseases of memory and of certain cases in which I could see the precise relation between mind and memory. I have come to the conclusion that it is a mistake to think that the work of the mind and of the brain is identical. Only a small part of the work done by the mind is done by the brain. The brain is only a province of the mind. The mind represents a country and the brain is only one of its provinces. The work done by the country is immensely wider in scope than that done by the province. The death of the brain is a probability. But I have found that the mind goes on living after the brain has died. From this I concluded that the mind survives the body. I cannot say definitely that the mind

is immortal, but there is a strong probability that it is.

"Modern philosophy is a study that can go on doing further work in this direction. Philosophy, like science, can make progress. There is still progress to be made in science; there is still some distance to go in that domain."

"Are you interested in any of the new movements in art and in literature?"

"I am interested in anything that shows talent," replied M. Bergson, with a smile. "Any school is interesting if it shows talent. I do not believe in any special schools of art, in any special methods. In literature and in art schools, methods are nothing. Genius is everything.

"I recall one day a correspondent came to interview me about the original exhibition of the 'Cubists.' Their idea was that any painting must be made of squares. He wanted to know my opinion about the 'Cubists.' My answer was that I preferred genius. The same I may say about the 'Futurists.' As far as I know, the fashion has been to have genius first. Then a system and methods were evolved. I believe that real genius creates its own meth-

ods. So with regard to all new movements and new schools, I must say that they must first have genius."

"Who are your favorite authors of to-day?" I asked.

"We have quite a number of geniuses in our literature. Maeterlinck, Pierre Loti, Bourget. But perhaps the most remarkable writer, who is not exactly as good a novelist as a musician in words, is Maurice Barres. In this respect, as a prose poet, he can rank with the greatest. But his style is so unique that it would be difficult to translate him without losing much of the beauty of his work.

"Then there is, of course, Anatole France. I have mentioned chiefly French writers, for I understand French literature best. I am not very familiar with Anglo-American literature. You see, it is impossible to do two things well at the same time, and I must choose between one and the other—between my work and the reading of foreign literature. I consider Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky the greatest masters of fiction. Dostoyevsky was almost unconscious in his art. He did not describe things but he somehow made you see and feel them. His

works are most important to psychologists. Tolstoy and Dostoyevski have seen the human soul naked and they have seen it in action and have reproduced it. Of the two Tolstoy was the more many-sided genius.

"I have great admiration for Emerson and Poe. The work of Poe is so vivid and his poetry is so musical, and it is charged with such deep feeling, that I remember it distinctly although I read it many years ago. Emerson I have reread recently. I am not familiar with the works of Henry James, but his brother told me that Henry rewrote his prefaces and parts of his works for his new edition. To me this is a sign of a great writer. Only great artists go to the trouble of doing this. They are moved by really artistic feelings. Shaw? Yes, I certainly admire him. I have not yet read all his works, but I have laid them aside and intend to take them up upon the first occasion."

"What are your views on the feministic movement in Europe and America?"

"I have not found any difference of level between the male and female mind," replied Bergson. "Women have not yet had the chance to produce philosophic work. But judging by

the average aptitude, men and women are equal. When I lectured to male and female students I experimented by giving the same subject for compositions to men and women. The results were that the papers could be mixed up and it would have been difficult to tell which were written by the men and which by the women. There is no real difference. The question whether women could give as many philosophers as men have given will be seen in time. I see absolutely no reason why women could not produce work of the same quality. Only now we shall see what they can accomplish, now that they are getting the same education. We shall be the witnesses of a great experiment.

"Half of mankind is now submitting to the same education that the other half has been getting. The growth of the woman's movement, the rapidity of its development socially and politically, is astounding. When I was a young man I could not even conceive that such a movement could grow so rapidly. Therefore, when you ask me about the woman's movement, I say I am for experimenting, but I must add that it is a dangerous experiment; since half

of the people would suddenly get votes. I think it should be done gradually. Women have thus far not had the interest in politics and could not be expected to have the aptitude for it. I certainly do not approve of the militant methods of the suffragettes. I know that wherever there is enthusiasm there is violence, but the women are injuring their own cause."

In speaking of the many races emigrating to the United States and the effect of immigrants upon the American type the great French philosopher said:

"I have been much struck by the fact that though different races have come to America there is an original type there; though so many elements go to shape the population of your great centres there is a distinct American type. Since there is no tendency on the part of the immigrants to remain separate I feel that much good will come from this mixture of the races. You have more reading of newspapers, current literature, and you have more schools.

"To my mind, the richer a temperament the better. The more elements constitute the population of America the more privileged

America will be, the richer and the stronger. I am greatly struck by the generosity and broad mindedness of the American people. It is certainly a great moral lesson to Europe."

Concerning the Jewish question and the Zionist movement Prof. Bergson, who is himself a Jew, said:

"To us French people this question seems paradoxical. We are so assimilated. If there were a new Zion I do not think many Jews would go there. A prominent Jewish statesman when asked in 1848 what he thought of Zionism replied that he would be in favor of Zionism if he were given the post of Jewish Ambassador to Paris."

"But for the oppressed and the persecuted?" I asked.

"That is another question. Oppressed people must look for ways and they are justified in seeking a home. Whether it would be possible to solve the Jewish question in that way I cannot answer. Russia may become more tolerant. The Jews of other countries have attained equal rights. After equal rights have been secured by the Jews I believe the Jewish question will be solved. I do not much believe

in permanent special qualities of races. Nature is very often nothing else than habit and education.

"There are racial differences between the white, yellow and black races, but there is no difference in the white races. People can adopt the qualities, the defects and the habits of the people among whom they live. In Europe we see that the difference in races is nothing but habit, education and the degree of living together. It is a mistake in psychology that much is ascribed to nature which should be ascribed to habit.

"I doubt whether the Jews have any special hereditary defects or qualities, considering that their blood has been so mixed—very much more than is believed. Whole tribes in Russia were converted to Judaism. I believe the Jewish question will be solved when the Jewish people will have attained equal rights in the countries where they are being persecuted. And the sooner that is attained the better for the Jews of course, and also for the countries where they live."

May, 1912.

AUGUSTE RODIN

—Drawing by Krieghoff

AUGUSTE RODIN

AUGUSTE RODIN, the world's foremost sculptor to-day, the energetic Rembrandt in sculpture, who but yesterday had to struggle like a novice and defend his art against the prejudice of his colleagues and those people who always comdemn the man who dares to speak his own new word, is 71 years old, or rather 71 years young. Some people are always young. They have no time to grow old. They do their work, they say their word in literature or in life, in sculpture, in painting, or in music, regardless of the censure and condemnation of the few or the multitude; they work even more energetically in the face of such hardships, and their efforts are always identified with youthfulness. Such a man is Auguste Rodin, the French sculptor.

The famous painter, Paul Laurens, said of Rodin:

"He belongs to the race of those men who march alone."

Rodin has not only marched alone, but has made the multitudes, even his former enemies, march behind him. He has created an art epoch that will, in the future, characterize the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. In the words of a very gifted painter, Rodin, in his living creations of bronze and marble, has produced a natural and moving race of people.

A poet of passion, an interpreter of the human, Rodin is young in his intense admiration of the old, the undying art of the Greeks, which was also human. Rodin has made his life one long, continuous effort to attain the ideal of art. Though a Frenchman, Rodin is universal in his art. His power and immensity spring from his individuality, rather than from his surroundings.

A keen art critic, Gustave Kahn, has said:

"All great sculptors seek to reproduce life, but not all do it in the same spirit. Some pay more attention to the clearness of expression

than to exactness. Michael Angelo is great, mighty and exact; others, like Carpeaux, for instance, are great and elegant; Rude and Rodin are great and pathetic. French sculpture, which together with Italian sculpture of the Renaissance, represented works of the greatest beauty, declined in the beginning of the nineteenth century, until Rodin appeared as an artist. He made motion the chief characteristic of his works."

From his very first productions, beginning with "The Man with the Broken Nose," to his very latest, which is not yet completed, and which is to be dedicated by Rodin to the "Martyrs of the Air," he kept on shocking the placid academicians and conventional judges of art. His "John the Baptist" and his statue of Balzac roused storms of indignation against Rodin in his own country as well as in other lands.

Nevertheless, Rodin forged ahead, creating masterpiece after masterpiece, until he has made a place for himself as the foremost among the sculptors of the age.

Several weeks ago I had the pleasure of meeting Rodin in Paris. I was invited to his studio at a quarter past five in the afternoon, when

his day's work is ended. The spacious yard in front of his studio looked rather like the yard of a busy warehouse, with heavy trucks and many workmen going quickly about their work. Within, many artists, young and old, were waiting for the master.

Passing through a number of enormous rooms, containing statuary of various sizes, antique and modern, I was met by the Duchess de Choiseul, a great admirer of Rodin, who informed me that Rodin would see me in a little while.

I had heard that the Duchess de Choiseul, regarded by prominent French people as one of the most brilliant women in France, was called "Rodin's Muse." Also that she was an American. So I asked her:

"Is it true that you are known as Monsieur Rodin's Muse and that you are an American?"

"Yes, I am proud to be both—the Muse of the greatest sculptor in the world and a daughter of the greatest country in the world."

"May I know what your maiden name was?"

"When I was a little girl I used to say that I was the daughter of the Coudert Brothers of New York," replied the Duchess with a smile.

"I said that I am proud that I am an American. I am also proud that I persuaded an American millionaire, Thomas F. Ryan, to do something really worth while for his country. I am referring to his gift of Rodin works to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

"Mr. Ryan had his bust made by Rodin. Then an inspiration came to me. I said to him one day: 'Mr. Ryan, don't be a dead man forever. You are a millionaire, but your millions will be of no avail when you die. Why shouldn't you do something that will help your country?'

"I talked and talked to him in this strain until I succeeded. Mr. French and Mr. Robinson, on the committee of the Metropolitan Museum, were the judges, and they purchased for Mr. Ryan the works of Rodin which now form the Rodin gallery in New York.

"This collection of Rodin masterpieces in America is of the utmost importance to young American artists. For I believe, just as Monsieur Rodin does, that we have more real artists in America, more talent, more genius, than other countries have.

"Here in Europe we have dried fruit, while

in America we have vigorous, young talents—but they are spoiled when they come over here, amidst these surroundings, away from the environments under which they could develop naturally. America is the greatest country in the world, but if every rich American were really interested in the development of his country, America could be made still greater.

"America could be made greater than Greece and Rome ever were; we have enough millions there—now we want artists. By bringing over such works as those of Rodin or of other masters the young American artists could have the best examples of Europe's greatest works amidst their own surroundings, and this would tend to build up a great American art."

At this point the door opened and Rodin walked in. With his long gray beard and gray hair, with his fine penetrating eyes, a dark velvet cap on his head, and in a brown velvet jacket, he looked like a Rembrandt painting, striking and picturesque. As he seated himself upon a sofa, there stood behind him his latest work, as yet unfinished, which he is dedicating to the martyrs of the air, the aviators

who have lost their lives.

After some preliminary conversation, I asked Rodin for his views as to the future of sculpture.

"Sculpture is an eternal art," he said, speaking slowly. "At some periods it will assert itself more strongly than at others, but it will exist forever.

"The art of sculpture was perfected by the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Greeks, who brought it to its highest point. In modern times different styles have been introduced in this art, and different names given to them, but these styles have deviated from the school of the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. Therefore, our works are inferior, for the antique art is nearly perfect."

Rodin paused awhile, then continued, speaking more quickly:

"The sculpture of our epoch is approaching a terrible crisis. Modern sculpture is losing all the best qualities of the art in the past. It is also separated from that which belonged to it when it was a perfect art.

"In these days of ours there is a new manner of placing works of sculpture in public houses

called museums. This is a grave mistake. The works of art thus placed there are only fragments, and art, to be perfect, must be complete.

"Sculpture and architecture belong together, and the deterioration of the one art affects the other. I believe that sculpture will rise again to its former position only after our architecture has regained its equilibrium. It seems to be a peculiarity of our time to put works of sculpture in the wrong place.

"In France there is a movement at present striving to restore this art to its former state and to free it from these new tendencies of our age, which have been instrumental in its decline. The very fact that we have commenced to realize this error leads me to believe that there is hope for progress—by going back to the older conception of this art."

"May I know what you regard as the mission of the sculptor and his art, if there is any such mission?"

"The mission of art is morality, religion. It is the finest expression of human intelligence, the noblest expression of the thought of the whole of humanity.

"The epochs that preceded the eighteenth

century brought beauty into the world, into life. The confusion of the nineteenth century, which upset everything, which overthrew old standards and created no new standards, entered also into art.

"Confusion reigned supreme in all the arts. The nineteenth century was the epoch of but a few individualities. It was an epoch without any particular style, without any characteristic standard, either in sculpture or in architecture.

"But I feel optimistic as to the future. For I see signs pointing to new and better ways."

"What is your opinion of American sculptors?" I asked.

"American sculpture is still French," replied M. Rodin. "But it is making great progress. America has produced a number of very remarkable artists, such as Sargent, Saint-Gaudens, Whistler.

"There is no doubt in my mind that America has a great future as an art centre. There are many fine artists there, artists of unusual qualities, and American art, in all forms, will surely grow ever greater and greater—if it does not become commercialized. There lies the great danger.

"The commercialism of our age, especially in America, is ruining the best talents that would have made this age an art epoch. The commercial spirit, characteristic of this period, is the tomb-stone over the noblest strivings of the artists."

Our conversation turned to his own works, and I asked what he considered his most important production.

"The most difficult thing in the world is to judge your own self and your own works. All my life has been devoted to a continual study of the human body and the soul. Therefore, each one of my works represents something that is part of all my work, and I cannot say which is better and which is worse.

"There are people who consider 'The Kiss' as my masterpiece; there are others who regard 'The Thinker' as my most important work; still others believe 'Victor Hugo' to be the best thing I have done. To me it is simply a different name, for all these works, as I said, are only a part of my studies of humanity, of passion, and thought."

Speaking of types of women and models, M. Rodin said:

"The type of woman has not changed since the days of the ancient sculptors. It remains always the same—always beautiful. In general the women of the Mediterranean were preferred by the artists as models, but women of the North are just as perfect.

"For what is art? Always the great truth of nature seen by a human mind. Photographs are not art, because they do not pass through a human brain.

"Everything in nature is beautiful for the real artist, for the man of imagination. Nothing is more ridiculous than the effort of an artist to produce something beautiful, something perfect, by combining perfect parts of different models into one. Thus the artist who reproduces the eyes of one model, the hands of another, the feet of a third, the neck of a fourth, produces perhaps a beautiful doll, but it is lifeless and worthless.

"There is no such thing as ugliness in nature, in life. Everything is beautiful if seen through the artist's mind. The imperfections become perfect. There is nothing more wonderful than life."

M. Rodin was fatigued after a hard day's

work. The Duchess de Choiseul suggested that we look over some of the sulptures in the studio. There was "The Benediction." Two women, with wings, rising out of the waves of the ocean, their heads bent in prayer. This is Rodin's latest work, intended as a memorial for the dead aviators who sacrificed their lives as martyrs to the great future of aviation.

Another statue represents "Psyche et l'Amour." Near it was a striking figure of a girl, seated upon a rock, listening. This was entitled "The Echo."

Another work that attracts much attention in Rodin's studio is "The Mystery." Two hands, a man's and a woman's, clasping each other, form a sort of dome, and represent the mystery of life.

M. Rodin always interested himself deeply with studies of the expression of the hand. He produced hands that seemed to clutch at space, ready to hurl it somewhere; he produced terrible hands that seemed to commit acts of violence; he formed fingers that groped greedily yet hopelessly under the burden of Fate; he produced hands that appear to be clutching at the shadow of mystery. At one period of his

life Rodin attached special significance to these studies of the human hands, but while Rodin never neglects details, his art strives above all for harmony, and these studies formed but part of his complete works.

The Duchess de Choiseul then removed the cloth from an unfinished bust of herself which Rodin is working on.

"The master really regards this bust as his masterpiece," said the Duchess.

It is indeed a most wonderful work, representing laughter.

Rodin's Muse laughed. The great sculptor came into the room, looked at the uncovered bust, and smiled.

"It is not yet finished, but I expect to complete it before long," he said.

Many students, artists, and other visitors were waiting for Rodin in the adjoining room. He went out to see them.

Duchess de Choiseul covered the bust and said:

"We have only one Rodin. He is old. We cannot afford to lose him. We must have him, we must have as much of his work as possible.

Therefore, when he is tired or indisposed, I keep on urging him; 'Work! Work! Work!'"

And Rodin's Muse laughed.

May, 1911.

JUST as I was leaving Paris the postman handed me a letter from Auguste Rodin, containing an invitation to visit him in his studio on the following afternoon. My grips were in the automobile and I was on my way to the railroad station.

A gifted painter and keen art critic who was with me said:

"I hope you are not hesitating. I would give up a dozen other important engagements for a meeting with the Michelangelo of modern times. Besides Rodin is 72, and there is only one Rodin."

I was not hesitating. I remembered the great pleasure I had derived from my meeting with the vigorous, intellectual seventy-one-year young genius of France.

At 2 o'clock I came to the studio where the greatest masterpieces of the famous French sculptor have been produced and where they are still produced.

Before meeting the master I met his "muse."

"Has M. Rodin completed the bust of his muse?" I asked the Duchess as she came out and assured me that M. Rodin would soon return to the studio.

"That was a most unfortunate affair. A number of accidents happened to that bust before it was completed and finally when it was ready and was to be shipped to the exhibition another accident occurred and the work was destroyed. That bust was one of the very finest works of the master. But he is working on a new bust."

Saying this she removed the cloth from an incomplete bust of herself, her face laughing broadly.

"I am afraid that this one is not such a happy likeness of me," she added with a smile. "I am almost sure that no accidents will happen to this bust."

The "muse" commenced to speak with enthusiasm about Rodin's great success everywhere in Europe, in America, and especially in France.

"Rodin has just returned from Lyons," she said. "He has loaned to the city of Lyons his

private collection of about two hundred and fifty of his favorite drawings for the exhibition. All the rooms and the salon are brilliantly illuminated and the impression made by the Rodin exhibition there is one that can never be forgotten. The surroundings and the atmosphere are so delightful, and the works of the master seem to be moving and going around. It is a gigantic exhibition."

Then she spoke about the numerous people who are disturbing Rodin with various requests, and robbing him of his precious time.

"There are some who come here in the hope of getting souvenirs," she said, "and if they do not get any they are quite ready to steal them. Sometimes I fear that a crank might attack the master. I have been planning how to guard M. Rodin against such people. Now we have solved this question. I have secured a wonderful police dog to watch Rodin. People with criminal tendencies had better beware of that dog. And now that we have that dog here I feel that the master is safe. There was never a more intelligent bodyguard nor a more loyal one."

Finally Rodin came in. His short stature,

his left shoulder somewhat lower than the right, the deep furrows on his face might disillusion his admirer at the first glance, but as soon as Rodin begins to speak and his eyes brighten you see before yourself the genius. You realize that the enormous struggles and hardships and disappointments he had experienced before he could gain recognition had imprinted those deep wrinkles on his face. You feel the deep, sincere note in all he says. And you also feel that, unlike many great artists, he knows how to say things effectively.

Rodin is very modest. Several years ago, when he visited England for the first time, this modesty of the famous French sculptor assumed an amusing aspect. He was invited to London. A deputation of prominent artists and a representative of the King went out to meet him in Dover and to greet him as he stepped on English soil. A special car was in readiness to take the master to London; but the deputation failed to find Rodin. Finally they noticed him seated in a third class car with his huge valise.

He was taken to the special car. In London a banquet was given in his honor. A great

number of celebrities were present. One of them delivered a speech in English which seemed to make a profound impression. Rodin did not understand a word of it. As the speaker referred to the greatest sculptor in the world, who was among them, and all applauded enthusiastically. Rodin also applauded, for he did not know whom the people were applauding.

I asked M. Rodin whether he would not care to say something to the American people, among whom his works are beginning to attract so much attention.

The great sculptor answered:

"The American nation has created a Rodin Museum at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Being now a part of the Metropolitan Museum it may increase and grow in time. The Rodin Museum, I understand, is now visited by many working people, by artisans and students. This pleases me immensely. I think that such museums render great services and are very useful, for I notice that in all countries in Europe and in America efforts are now being made to restore art to its former place. Until recently art has been declining.

"The trouble is that among the students of art there are many who are not seriously devoting themselves to the study of art; there are so many idlers and nobles who pose as art students. I therefore have more confidence, and I expect real results from the actual apprentices. These have more courage, more perseverance; they make more serious efforts, and they want to make progress and accomplish ever better results. And that is what we need nowadays. We must try to find again the energy that art students had in former days. Such energy is still to be found in those working for the progress of science. But among the students of art this energy has been declining.

"The fine arts must go on developing with the greatest sincerity. Sincerity should always be the keynote of all works of art. Art brings happiness into life, for it is for the most part a rational admiration of nature.

"Art is like religion. And the best religion is that which gives happiness at the smallest cost, almost without money, for after all the different ways of happiness are chiefly intellectual.

"It is upon such principles as this that one realizes the beautiful productions of art which have come down to us from the great epochs in the past. Sincerity in the admiration of nature has brought us all great masterpieces of all times. The finest architectural works, the finest sculptures are those suggested by beauties of nature, and the finest adornments of architecture are made of the graceful body of woman. This I have been trying to explain in my works."

Speaking of his own methods of work, M. Rodin said:

"As I have stated before, I believe that art requires first of all patience and perseverance. Nowadays the young people want to make progress in the arts too quickly. They do not even find the time for learning to know themselves. The young people are striving for originality, or what they believe to be originality, and they hasten to imitate it. Forced originality, like the bizarre, has no reason for existence.

"A real artist builds his artistic work upon nature. Only after he has done that can he infuse his own temperament into the work.

Many young artists will go to a museum and examine quickly a number of works of art, and then they will say to themselves, 'Now we have found ourselves, we have discovered our souls, we will create something new.' It may be that they really have souls, but these souls are the souls of thieves.

'We must try to do the very best we are able to do. We cannot become perfect artists within a few days. Artists need an enormous deal of patience. And they must work hard. Nothing can be achieved without hard work. If an artist is hasty, if he is hurrying to accomplish something, if he does not regard his work as its own end, if he thinks only of the success that will come to him as a result of his work, if he thinks only of the money he will get for his work, of the honors that may be showered upon him, of the orders he will secure, the artist is at an end, he will never accomplish anything really worthy.

"Such people will never be artists. They may make things that will appeal to the masses because these things will be mediocre, they will stoop to the lower taste of the masses and to their short sighted intelligence. But they will

never be real artists. And how easy it is for an artist to go astray. The artist who loves women too passionately is lost.

"You cannot serve two passions at the same time; you cannot serve art and woman at the same time. And yet it has always been the opinion that artists derive their inspiration from the fire of love. Inspiration! Oh, that is an old, romantic idea which is devoid of any meaning. According to that old idea a youth of twenty is smitten with an inspiration to create a marble statue, to build it out of the delirium of his imagination at night. This is nonsense.

"Artists do not love their work if they do not understand it. All that is done in haste and in a state of excessive exaltation should be destroyed. Lombroso and others who imagine that genius borders on insanity are absolutely wrong. Genius is order personified, the concentration of the abilities and level-mindedness of the masses. My work has often been styled the product of inspiration and exalted enthusiasm. I am just the opposite of an enthusiast.

"My temperament is even. I am not a dreamer. I am rather a mathematician. My sculpture is good because it is geometrically

correct. I do not deny that I am emotional in my work, but that is only because my emotion is aroused by the beauties of nature which I am reproducing. I admire nature and I find it so perfect that if God called me and asked me to suggest a change I would answer: 'All is perfect. Nothing should be changed!'

"People have often accused me of having made erotic sculptures. I have never made any erotic works. I have never made a sculpture for the sake of the erotic element. Most of the people cannot conceive this because they are forever looking for literary and philosophical ideas in sculpture. Sculpture is the art of forms.

"I have created human bodies in various forms, in various natural forms. Nature is always beautiful. If nature sometimes appears too ugly it is simply because we do not understand it. And what a great number of artists are deforming nature by trying to interpret it!"

"Have you noticed any new tendencies in art that show any promise?" I asked.

"I think that we are becoming more sincere and I hope that our epoch will be marked by a

growing sincerity, for all our hope and the future of art depend upon sincerity.

"Much is being said about various new schools in art, about the 'Futurists' and others. But these do not exist. All these new styles and fads are devoid of any power. They are paradoxes."

"If you were asked to give a few rules of advice to young sculptors, what would you suggest to them?" I asked.

"First of all, I must recommend study. We must study hard and be sincere. We must learn to admire nature, and admire the Greeks, who were in this respect sincerer than all of us. We must copy them—or rather no, not copy them, that would be bad. We should introduce the sincerity and the methods of the Greeks into the different arts. In modelling a Dutch woman we can employ the methods of the Greek. The Greek power of modelling would be successful even if the subject be an American woman. It is the form and the sincerity and the power of modelling that have made Greek art so perfect."

I asked Rodin to mention the names of his favorite authors who influenced his life.

"The Romans, the Greeks, Dante and Shakespeare," replied the French sculptor.

Toward the end of the interview, Mr. Rodin said of the feminist movement:

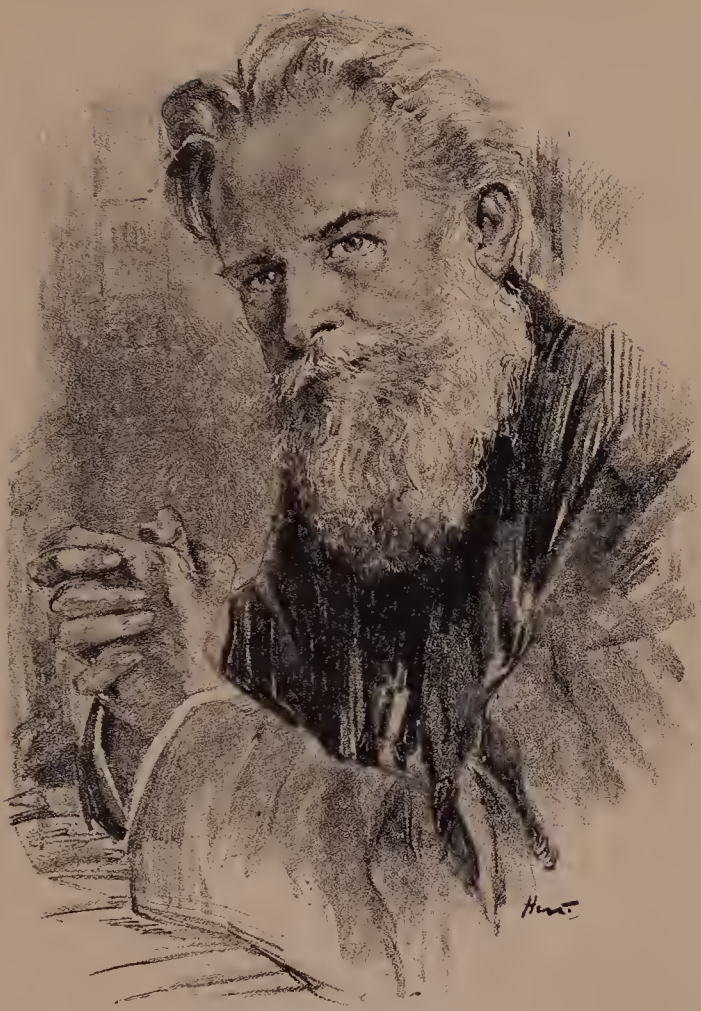
"There is something very good in that campaign. They want to have men understand and appreciate that they possess a value. They want to demonstrate to men that there is some value in women which men lose by not understanding them. The suffragettes are only trying to prove their value. Man has weakened in the course of his work of research and eager quest for money, while women have in the meantime become superior to men in their love."

May, 1912.

HAVELOCK ELLIS

ENGLAND being the storm centre of woman's struggle for equal rights, I turned to Havelock Ellis for his views on the methods of the suffragettes and the prospects of the movement.

Havelock Ellis has long been recognized as an authority on woman. His works on "Man and Woman," "The Psychology of Sex," his scientific studies in the psychology of women are widely known throughout the world and have been translated into almost all languages used by civilized peoples. Aside from these important works, he depicted in masterly manner the new spirit in literature as voiced by Diderot, Heine, Whitman and Tolstoy more than twenty years ago. He was also the first to direct the attention of English reading people to the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche.



HAVELOCK ELLIS

—Drawing by Hess

I met Mr. Ellis in his Brixton home. In appearance he is a little older than he really is. He is only fifty-three years of age. But he is youthful and vigorous in spirit and he speaks with the simplicity and modesty characteristic of really great men.

"Fortunately for America and for American women, you have not the same problems to contend with, and American women do not employ the methods that are used by the leaders of the woman's movement in England,' said Mr. Ellis. "There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that these methods are causing a great deal of injury to woman's cause. Personally I have great admiration for the women, but I believe that their tactics of concentrating on the vote as the only solution of their problem and their use of violence are not calculated to help them."

"What methods would you suggest that would help their cause?" I asked.

"Wherever women have secured their rights, as in Finland, for instance, they have attained their aims because they stood beside the men, not against them. Besides, they should not try to emulate men in their methods, but should rather go along their own lines, and they would be much more successful. I quite agree with

Olive Schreiner, who believes that women should not concentrate on the suffrage."

"What, then, are the ends women ought to work for instead of concentrating on the suffrage?"

"I regard economic independence as far more fundamental than the franchise," replied Mr. Ellis. "Women ought to do everything instead of doing one thing, harping on the right to vote. They ought to be active in the arts, in literature, in social work, and they will also get the suffrage in the right way.

"England is a very old country, we are old fashioned here, in a good sense, and everything moves slowly. This is why the methods of the suffragettes do more harm than good to the cause of woman. It is, of course, different in new countries, such as America, for instance. There you may attain results more rapidly, because you are accustomed to doing new things. It is hard to understand why the leading suffragettes in England are forever attacking the politicians. As a matter of fact the politicians have always been in favor of woman suffrage more than any other portion of the community.

"The chief point against the movement de-

manding votes for women is that the majority of women in England do not want the franchise. Therefore I think it will be much better when the desire on the part of the women to vote comes naturally, and I feel sure that when the majority of English women really want the suffrage they will certainly get it."

Mr. Ellis said that people are in most cases wrong in their estimates of women and their views.

"I have observed that women will sometimes do exactly the opposite of what they are expected to do. The women whose views were asked at a large meeting with regard to divorce proved quite a revelation to those who consider themselves judges of women's ways and thoughts. The majority of the women present at that large gathering expressed themselves in favor of divorce by mutual agreement. At another congress the majority of women declared against the religious education of children. And the women in the Finnish Parliament surprised the male representatives of the people by talking about 50 per cent. less than the men.

"Thus you can never tell what women will do, but in my opinion they are making a grave mis-

take by morbidly concentrating on the point of the vote, caring for nothing else. The longest way around is very often the shortest way home. Mill said many years ago that women have to educate themselves. This is true to-day as well.

"After all, it is only a small section of women that cares for politics. Women who have had the municipal vote have not used it. The vote is only of minor importance. In Germany the woman's movement is conducted along different lines—there it is a movement for giving women emotional rights. And the list of names of representative people all over the world, indorsing the methods and aims of the German woman's movement is one that the English suffragettes could hardly secure for their cause."

"What do you think of the work of women in art and literature in recent years?" I asked.

"I think that a good drama written by a woman or an important novel produced by a woman does more good for the woman's cause than any of the militant methods of the suffragettes. But I must say that too many women who have no business to devote their time to writing are giving themselves to what they call

the artistic life. They are thus wasting their lives and doing things that are useless.

"I do not think women have any special aptitude for the arts, though they have produced some good novels. But there is such a great field for women in which they really excel—I mean social work. They are specially gifted for this sphere of activity and such work is much more important than art. Art is after all merely a luxury."

"Would you call the great artistic masterpieces merely a luxury?" I asked.

"No, I would not go as far as that. But it is more important to have a healthy home than to write a novel. Real art, as I pointed out years ago, as a many sided and active delight in the wholeness of things is the great restorer of health and rest to the energies distracted by our turbulent modern movements. Thus understood it has the firmest scientific foundations. Its satisfaction means tne presence of joy in our daily life, and joy is the prime tonic of life.

"It is the gratification of the art instinct that makes the wholesome stimulation of labor joyous. It is in the gratification of the art instinct that repose becomes joyous. We have already

an art in which for the great mass of people today our desires and struggles and ideals are faithfully mirrored. But nowadays too many women, for that matter too many men, are devoting themselves to what they call art without having the slightest aptitude for it and they are merely wasting their energy."

Mr. Ellis spoke of the influence of Nietzsche and Tolstoy upon life and literature and then related how he had planned to visit the great Russian at Yasnaya Polyana fifteen years ago.

"Of all your meetings with distinguished men I envy you your meeting with Tolstoy," said Mr. Ellis. "Tolstoy was the only man of letters I was really eager to meet. He was not only the greatest writer of his time, but also the greatest personality. And that is even more important than to be a great writer.

"I was in Moscow about fifteen years ago and was to leave for Yasnaya Polyana when I received word from Tolstoy that one of his children was taken ill with typhoid and therefore he could not receive me. I visited Russia and I visited Spain a number of times and I admire both the Russian and the Spanish peoples—they are both unfortunate."

"Perhaps that is the reason why you admire them above others?" I suggested.

"Perhaps. Some of their best qualities are thus brought out. They are of course not perfect from a political viewpoint. I certainly do not admire the politics of these countries. But the political activities of a nation do not always mar it or make it perfect. The trouble is that people speaking of Russia often confound the people with the Government. There the line between the Government and the people is drawn very distinctly."

Mr. Ellis refered to Mr. Roosevelt's views on race suicide. He said:

"We have bishops in England—unmarried, of course,—who are preaching large families. Mr. Roosevelt ought to go to Russia and to China, the countries with an enormously high birth rate and all its dreadful results. To my mind civilization, progress and a low birth rate go together."

"There has been progress in China of late."

"Yes, and in connection with this let me tell you what a lady who recently returned from China has told me. The English lady visited a Chinese school. She asked the children what they wanted to know about her country. The

children begged her to tell them all about the suffragettes. Now, little girls that want to hear mainly about suffragettes are not likely to have large families when they grow up."

Of the unrest among the working people of England, Mr. Ellis said:

"The wave of unrest here as well as elsewhere is the result of prosperity. It is only when working people are better off that they can better afford to strike. I am, of course, in sympathy with bettering the condition of the working people, but I believe they are like the suffragettes, especially in England, where things move so slowly. They should also go more slowly and they will attain their aims naturally."

Speaking of American literature, Mr. Ellis said:

"I cannot say who is my favorite American author. The writers in America are not keeping pace with the greatness of their country. America produced one supreme artist—Poe. The other great writers produced by America were Whitman, Emerson, Thoreau. But the Americans are too busy to produce a real literature. You must not be so busy, you must have more dreamers if you would produce a litera-

ture of importance. The atmosphere of America does not seem to be favorable to literature to-day. It was more so half a century ago. The conditions of New England were certainly favorable in this sense, but those conditions have now almost disappeared."

Mr. Ellis is now at work upon a book which will shortly appear in England and in which he will deal with "The Task of Social Hygiene."

I asked Mr. Ellis to present more fully his views on the latest aspects of the woman question.

"With pleasure," replied Mr. Ellis. "The modern conception of the political equality of women with men arose in France in the second half of the eighteenth century. Its way was prepared by the philosophic thinkers of the 'Encyclopedie,' and it was definitely formulated by some of the finest minds of the age, notably by Condorcet, as part of the great programme of social and political reform which was to some degree realized in the upheaval of the revolution.*

"The political emancipation of women con-

*The following is now embodied in Havelock Ellis's important new book, "The Task of Social Hygiene."

stituted no part of the revolution. There were too many more pressing matters to be dealt with, and the only women who had been taught to demand the rights of their sex were precisely those whom the revolution guillotined or exiled. Even had it been otherwise we may be quite sure that Napoleon, the heir of the revolution and the final arbiter of what was to be permanent in its achievements, would have sternly repressed any political freedom accorded to women; the only freedom he cared to grant to women was the freedom to produce food for cannon, and so far as lay in his power he sought to crush the political activities of women even in literature, as we see in his treatment of Mme. de Stael.

"But an Englishwoman of genius was in Paris at the time of the revolution, an acute critic of its disorders, an enthusiastic partisan of the finer and broader elements in the great French movement for social reform. The French agitators had delighted in declarations of the rights of man; Mary Wollstonecraft, without imitating their fanatical and dogmatic spirit, published in 1792 her 'Vindication of the Rights of Woman.'

"It was not a shrill outcry, nor an attack on men; it was just the book of a woman, a wise and sensible woman, who discusses many woman's questions frankly and yet delicately, and advocates civil and political rights for women not as a panacea for all evils but as a reasonable condition of progress, for, as she argues, humanity cannot progress as a whole while one-half of it is semi educated and only half free.

"The Victorian movement for the education of women and their introduction into careers previously monopolized by men inevitably encouraged the movement for extending the franchise to women. It may indeed be said that this movement was well established in England many years before it gained a footing and still less practical realization in any other country. Moreover it was remarkably successful in winning over the politicians, and not those of one party only.

"Since Mill published his 'Subjection of Women' in 1869 there have always been eminent English statesmen convinced of the desirability of granting the franchise to women, and among the rank and file of members of

Parliament, irrespective of party, a very large proportion have pledged themselves to the same cause. The difficulty, therefore, in introducing woman suffrage into England has not been primarily in Parliament. The one point at which political party feeling has caused obstruction—and it is certainly a difficult and important point—is the method by which woman suffrage should be introduced. Each party—Conservative, Liberal, Labor — naturally enough desires that this great new voting force should first be applied at a point which would not be likely to injure its own party interests.

"It is probable that in each party the majority of the leaders are of opinion that the admission of female voters is inevitable and perhaps desirable, the dispute is as to the extent to which the floodgates should in the first place be opened. In accordance with English tradition some kind of compromise, however illogical, suggests itself as the safest first step. That was the view of the framers of the last attempt to secure woman's suffrage, the so-called conciliation bill, and they were justified in feeling some resentment when a crushing logic was applied to the bill by influential

statesmen who professed themselves anxious to secure woman suffrage.

"The dispute of the gatekeepers would, however, be easily overcome if the pressure behind the gate were sufficiently strong. But it is not. However large a proportion of the voters in Great Britain may be in favor of women's franchise, it is certain that only a very minute percentage regard this as a question having precedency over all other questions. This was shown at the recent elections, when two woman suffrage candidates were put up and secured considerably less than fifty votes between them.

"And the reason why men have only taken a very temperate interest in woman suffrage is that women themselves in the mass have taken an equally temperate interest in the matter when they have not been actually hostile to the movement. It may indeed be said even at the present time that whenever an impartial poll is taken of a large miscellaneous group of women only a minority are found to be in favor of woman suffrage. No significant event has occurred to stimulate general interest in the matter and no supremely eloquent or influential voice has artificially stirred it.

"There has been no woman of Mary Wollstonecraft's genius and breadth of mind who has devoted herself to the cause, and since Mill the men who have made up their minds on this side have been content to leave the matter to the women's associations formed for securing the success of the cause. These associations have, however, been led by women of a past generation who, while of unquestionable intellectual power and high moral character, have viewed the woman question in a somewhat narnow, old fashioned spirit, and have not possessed the gift of inspring enthusiasm. The growth of the movement, however steady it may have been, has been slow.

"In the meanwhile in some other countries where it was of much more recent growth the woman suffrage movement has achieved success with no great expenditure of energy. It has been introduced into several American States. It is established throughout Australasia. In Finland women may not only vote but also sit in Parliament.

' 'It was in these conditions that, some five years ago, the Women's Social and Political Union was formed in London. It was not an

offshoot from any existing woman's suffragette society, but represented a crystalization of new elements. For the most part even its most conspicuous leaders had not previously taken any active part in the movement for woman's suffrage, an exception should perhaps be made in the case of Mrs. Pankhurst, the chief leader, who furnished an element of historic continuity.

"The suffrage movement had need of exactly such an infusion of fresh and ardent blood; so that the new association was warmly welcomed and met with immediate success, finding recruits alike among the rich and the poor. Its unconventional methods, its eager and militant spirit, were felt to supply a lacking element, and the first picturesque and dashing exploits of the union were on the whole well received by the friends of woman's suffrage. It was felt, for the most part, that the obvious sincerity and earnestness of these very fresh recruits covered the rashness of their new and rather ignorant enthusiasm.

"But a hasty excess of ardor only befits a first uncalculated outburst of youthfulness. It is quite another matter when it is deliberately

hardened into a rigid routine and becomes an organized method of creating disorder for the purpose of advertising a grievance in season and out of season.

"Since, moreover, the attack was directed chiefly against politicians, precisely that class of the community most inclined to be favorable to woman's suffrage, and since it counted among its triumphs personal assaults on Cabinet Ministers, who are convinced champions of its cause, the wrongheadedness of the movement became as striking as its offensiveness. The effect on the early friends of the new movement was inevitable. Some who had hailed it with enthusiasm and proclaimed its pioneers as new Joans of Arc changed their tone to expostulation and protest and finally relapsed into silence. Other friends of the movement, even among its former leaders, were less silent. They have revealed to the world too unkindly some of the influences which slowly corrupt such a movement from the inside when it hardens into sectarianism, the narrowing of aim, the increase of conventionality, the jealousy of rivals, the tendency to morbid emotionalism.

"It is easy to exaggerate the misdeeds and

the weaknesses of the suffragettes. It is undoubtedly true that they have alienated in an increasing degree the sympathies of the women of highest character and best abilities among the advocates of woman's suffrage. Nearly all English women to-day who stand well above the average in mental distinction are in favor of woman's suffrage, though they may not always be inclined to take an active part in securing it; perhaps the only prominent exception is Mrs. Humphrey Ward. Yet they rarely associate themselves with the methods of the suffragettes. They do not indeed protest, for they feel there would be a kind of disloyalty in fighting against the extreme left of a movement to which they themselves belong, but they stand aloof. The women who are chiefly attracted to the ranks of the suffragettes belong to three classes:

"First, those of the well to do class, with no outlet for their activities who eagerly embrace an exciting occupation, which has become not only highly respectable but even in a sense fashionable; who have no natural tendency to excess, but are easily moved by their social environment; some of these are rich; and the

great principle—once formulated in an unhappy moment concerning a rich lady interested in social reform—'We must not kill the goose that lays the golden eggs,' has never been despised by the suffragette leaders.

"Second, the rowdy element among women, which is not so much moved to adopt the methods for the sake of the cause as to adopt the cause for the sake of the methods, so that in the case of their special emotional temperament it may be said that the means justify the end; this element of noisy explosiveness is always to be found in a certain proportion of women; though latent under ordinary circumstances, it is easily aroused by stimulation, and in every popular revolt it is noticed that the wildest excesses are the acts of women.

"Third, in this small but important group we find women of rare and beautiful character who, hypnotized by the enthralling influence of an idea, and often having no great intellectual power of their own, are even unconscious of the vulgarity that accompanies them; and gladly sacrifice themselves to a cause that seems to be sacred; these are the saints and martyrs of every movement.

"When we thus analyze the suffragette out-

burst we see that it is really compounded out of quite varied elements, a conventionally respectable element, a rowdy element and an ennobling element. It is therefore equally unreasonable to denounce its vices or to idealize its virtues. It is more profitable to attempt to balance its services and its disservices to the cause of woman's suffrage.

"Looked at dispassionately the two main disadvantages of the suffragette agitation, and they certainly seem at the first glance very comprehensive objections, lie in its direction and in its methods. There are two vast bodies of people who require to be converted in order to secure woman's suffrage; first, women themselves, and secondly, their men folk, who at present monopolize the franchise. Until the majority of both men and women are educated to understand the justice and reasonableness of this step and until men are persuaded that the time has come for practical action the most violent assaults on Cabinet Ministers—supposing such political methods to be otherwise unobjectionable—are beside the mark. They are aimed in the wrong direction.

"Some suffragettes have argued in this matter that in times of political crises men also

have acted just as badly or worse. But one of the chief arguments hitherto in favor of the admission of women into political life has been that women exercise an elevating and refining influence, so that their entrance into this field will serve to purify politics. That no doubt is an argument mostly brought forward by men and may be regarded as in some measure an amiable masculine delusion, since most of the refining and elevating elements in civilization have owed their origin not to women but to men. But it is not altogether a delusion.

"In the virtues of force—however humbly those virtues are to be classed—women as a sex can never be the rivals of men, and when women attempt to gain their ends by the demonstration of brute force they can only place themselves at a disadvantage. They are laying down the weapons they know best how to use and adopting weapons so unsuitable that they only injure the users.

"Many women, speaking on behalf of the suffragettes, protest against the idea that women must always be 'charming.' And if 'charm' is to be understood in so narrow and conventionalized a sense that it means some-

thing which is incompatible with the developed natural activities, whether of the soul or of the body, then such a protest is amply justified. But in the larger sense, 'charm'—which means the power to effect work without employing brute force—is indispensable to women. Charm is a woman's strength just as strength is a man's charm. And the justification for women in this matter is that herein they represent the progress of civilization.

"All civilization involves the substitution in this respect of the woman's method for the man's. In the last resort a savage can only assert his rights by brute force. But with the growth of civilization the wronged man, instead of knocking down his opponent, employs 'charm;' in other words he employs an advocate who by the exercise of sweet reasonableness persuades twelve men in a box that his wrongs must be righted, and the matter is then finally settled, not by man's weapon, the fist, but by woman's weapon, the tongue. Nowadays the same method of 'charm' is being substituted for brute force in international wrongs, and with the complete substitution of arbitration for war the woman's method of charm will have re-

placed the man's method of force along the whole line of legitimate human activity.

"If we realize this we can understand why it is that a group of women who, even in the effort to support a good cause revert to the crude method of violence are committing a double wrong. They are wronging their own sex by proving false to its best traditions, and they are wronging civilization by attempting to revive methods of savagery which it is civilization's mission to repress. Therefore it may fairly be held that even if the methods of the suffragettes were really adequate to secure woman's suffrage, the attainment of the franchise would be a misfortune. The ultimate loss would be greater than the gain.

"That the issue of woman's suffrage may be reached in England within a reasonable period is much to be desired for the sake of the woman's movement in the larger sense, which has nothing to do with politics, and is now impeded by this struggle. The enfranchisement of women, Miss Frances Cobb declared thirty years ago, is 'the crown and completion' of all progress in woman's movement. 'Votes for women,' exclaims more youthfully but not

less unreasonably Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 'means a new Heaven and a new Earth.' But woman's suffrage no more means a new Heaven or even a new Earth than it means, as other people fear, a new Purgatory and a new Hell.

"We may see this quite plainly in Australasia. Women's votes aid in furthering social legislation and contribute to the passing of acts which have their good side, and, no doubt, like everything else, their bad side. As Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who devoted her life to the political enfranchisement of women declared, the ballot is at most only the vestibule to woman's emancipation. Man's suffrage has not introduced the millenium and it is foolish to suppose that woman's suffrage can. It is merely an act of justice and a reasonable condition of social hygiene."

May, 1912.

LEONID ANDREYEV

TWO weeks after my visit to Count Leo Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana, I went from St. Petersburg to Wammelsu, Finland, to see Leonid Andreyev, the most modern of modern writers in Europe, the author of the great war story, "Red Laughter," and of the remarkable morality play entitled "The Life of Man." The most popular writer in Russia to-day, his popularity having outshadowed that of Maxim Gorky, Andreyev is also, next to Tolstoy, the most gifted of all Russian writers. If his work, which is in every respect original, must be likened to the work of another Russian, it would come nearest to that of Dostoyevsky. His keen psychological insight, as revealed in his later

LEONID ANDREYEV

Drawing by Krieghoff

works, may be compared with the best work of the author of "Crime and Punishment."

Andreyev's first steps in literature, his first short stories, attracted but little attention at the time of their appearance. It was only when Countess Tolstoy, the wife of Leo Tolstoy, in a letter to the Novoe Vremya, came out in "defense of artistic purity and moral power in contemporary literature," declaring that Russian society, instead of buying, reading, and making famous the works of the Andreyevs, should "rise against such filth with indignation," that almost everybody who can read in Russia turned to the little volume of the young writer.

In her attack upon Andreyev, Countess Tolstoy said as follows:

"The poor new writers, like Andreyev, succeeded only in concentrating their attention on the filthy point of human degradation and uttered a cry to the undeveloped, half-intelligent reading public, inviting them to see and to examine the decomposed corpse of human degradation and to close their eyes to God's wonderful, vast world, with the beauties of nature, with the majesty of art, with the lofty yearn-

ings of the human soul, with the religious and moral struggles and the great ideals of goodness—even with the downfall, misfortunes, and weaknesses of such people as Dostoyevsky depicted. * * * In describing all these every true artist should illumine clearly before humanity not the side of filth and vice, but should struggle against them by illumining the highest ideals of good, truth, and the triumph over evil, weakness, and the vices of mankind. * * * I should like to cry out loudly to the whole world in order to help those unfortunate people whose wings, given to each of them for high flights toward the understanding of the spiritual light, beauty, kindness, and God, are clipped by these Andreyevs."

This letter of Countess Tolstoy called forth a storm of protest in the Russian press, and, strange to say, the representatives of the fair sex were among the warmest defenders of the young author. Answering the attack, many women, in their letters to the press, pointed out that the author of "Anna Karenina" had been abused in almost the same manner for his "Kreuzer Sonata," and that Tolstoy himself had been accused of exerting just such an in-

fluence as the Countess attributed to Andreyev over the youth of Russia. Since the publication of Countess Tolstoy's condemnation, Andreyev has produced a series of masterpieces, such as "The Life of Father Vassily," a powerful psychological study; "Red Laughter," a war story, "written with the blood of Russia"; "The Life of Man," a striking morality presentation in five acts, and, finally, his latest, and perhaps, also, his most artistic work, "The Seven Who Were Hanged," in which the horrors of contemporary life in Russia are delineated with such beautiful simplicity and power that Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, or Tolstoy himself would have signed his name to this masterpiece.

Thus the first accusations against Andreyev have been disarmed by his artistic productions, which are permeated with sincere, profound love for all that is pure in life. Dostoyevsky and Maupassant depicted more subjects, such as that treated in "The Abyss," than Andreyev. But with them these stories are lost in the great mass of their other works, while in Andreyev, who at that time had as yet produced but a few short stories, works like "The Abyss" stood out in bold relief.

Andreyev has often been accused of being the advocate of pessimism, and it has been charged that his influence upon the Russian youth is pessimistic. Not long ago, nevertheless, Andreyev, in speaking of his own pessimism, said: "I never believed in life so much as when I read the work of the "father" of pessimism, Schopenhauer. Since a man could think as he did and live, it is evident that life is mighty and unconquerable."

In another place he said: "Neither truth nor falsehood will conquer. That which is united with life itself will conquer; that which strengthens the roots of life and justifies it. Only that which is useful to life remains; all that is harmful to it will sooner or later perish; perish inevitably. Even if it stands to-day as an indestructible wall against which the heads of the noblest people are breaking in the struggle, it will fall to-morrow. It will fall because it tried to impede life itself. * * *"

As I drove from Terioki to Andreyev's house, along the dust-covered road, the stern and taciturn little Finnish driver suddenly broke the silence by saying to me in broken Russian:

"Andreyev is a good writer. * * * Although he is a Russian, he is a very good man. He is building a beautiful house here in Finland, and he gives employment to many of our people."

We were soon at the gate of Andreyev's beautiful villa—a fantastic structure, weird-looking, original in design, something like the conception of the architect in the "Life of Man."

"My son is out rowing with his wife in the Gulf of Finland," Andreyev's mother told me. "They will be back in half an hour."

As I waited I watched the seething activity everywhere on Andreyev's estate. In Yasnaya Polyana, the home of Count Tolstoy, everything seemed long established, fixed, well-regulated, serenely beautiful. Andreyev's estate was astir with vigorous life. Young, strong men were building the House of Man. More than thirty of them were working on the roof and in the yard, and a little distance away, in the meadows, young women and girls, bright-eyed and red faced, were haying. Youth, strength, vigor everywhere, and above all the ringing laughter of little children at play. I could see

from the window the "Black Little River," which sparkled in the sun hundreds of feet below. The constant noise of the workmen's axes and hammers was so loud that I did not notice when Leonid Andreyev entered the room where I was waiting for him.

"Pardon my manner of dressing," he said as we shook hands. "In the summer I lead a lazy life, and do not write a line. I am afraid I am forgetting even to sign my name."

I had seen numerous photographs of Leonid Andreyev, but he does not look like any of them. He has grown much stouter. Instead of the pale-faced, sickly-looking young man there stood before me a strong, handsome, well-built man, with wonderful eyes. He wore a grayish blouse, black, wide pantaloons up to his knees, and no shoes or stockings.

We soon spoke of Russian literature at the present time, particularly of the drama.

"We have no real drama in Russia," said Andreyev. "Russia has not yet produced anything that could justly be called a great drama. Perhaps 'The Storm,' by Ostrovsky, is the only Russian play that may be classed as a drama. Tolstoy's plays cannot be placed in this cate-

gory. Of the later writers, Anton Chekhov came nearest to giving real dramas to Russia, but, unfortunately, he was taken from us in the prime of his life."

"What do you consider your own 'Life of Man' and 'To the Stars'"? I asked.

"They are not dramas; they are merely presentations in so many acts," answered Andreyev, and, after some hesitation, added: "I have not written any dramas, but it is possible that I will write one." At this point Andreyev's wife, a charming young woman, came in, also dressed in a Russian blouse. The conversation turned to America, and to the treatment accorded to Maxim Gorky in New York.

"When I was a child I loved America," remarked Andreyev. "Perhaps Cooper and Mayne Reid, my favorite authors in my childhood days, were responsible for this. I was always planning to run away to America. I am anxious even now to visit America, but I am afraid—I may get as bad a reception as my friend Gorky got."

He laughed as he glanced at his wife. After a brief pause, he said:

"The most remarkable thing about the Gorky

incident is that while in his stories and articles about America Gorky wrote nothing but the very worst that could be said about that country he never told me anything but the very best about America. Some day he will probably describe his impressions of America as he related them to me. By the way, have you read Gorky's latest story, 'Confession.' It is a wonderful story. The Russian writers have unlearned to write like that nowadays."

It was a very warm day. The sun was burning mercilessly in the large room. Mme. Andreyev suggested that it would be more pleasant to go down to a shady place near the Black Little River.

On the way down the hill Andreyev inquired about Tolstoy's health and was eager to know his views on contemporary matters.

"If Tolstoy were young now he would have been with us," he said.

We stepped into a boat, Mme. Andreyev took up the oars and began to row. We resumed our conversation.

"The decadent movement in Russian literature," said Andreyev, "started to make itself felt about ten or fifteen years ago. At first

it was looked upon as mere child's play, as a curiosity. Now it is regarded more seriously. Although I do not belong to that school, I do not consider it as worthless. The fault with it is that it has but few talented people in its ranks, and these few direct the criticism of the decadent school. They are the writers and also the critics. And they praise whatever they write. Of the younger men, Alexander Blok is perhaps the most gifted. But in Russia our clothes change quickly nowadays, and it is hard to tell what the future will tell us—in our literature and our life.

"How do I picture to myself this future?" continued Andreyev, in answer to a question of mine. "I cannot know even the fate and future of my own child, how can I foretell the future of such a great country as Russia? But I believe that the Russian people have a great future before them—in life and in literature—for they are a great people, rich in talents, kind and freedom-loving. Savage as yet, it is true, very ignorant, but on the whole they do not differ so much from other European nations."

Suddenly the author of "Red Laughter" looked upon me intently, and asked: "How is it

that the European and the American press has ceased to interest itself in our struggle for emancipation? Is it possible that the reaction in Russia appeals to them more than our people's yearnings for freedom, simply because the reaction happens to be stronger at the present time? In that event, they are probably sympathizing with the Shah of Persia! Russia to-day is a lunatic asylum. The people who are hanged are not the people who should be hanged. Everywhere else honest people are at large and only criminals are in prison. In Russia the honest people are in prison and the criminals are at large. The Russian Government is composed of a band of criminals, and Nicholas II. is not the greatest of them. There are still greater ones. I do not hold that the Russian Government alone is guilty of these horrors. The European nations and the Americans are just as much to blame, for they look on in silence while the most despicable crimes are committed. The murderer usually has at least courage, while he who looks on silently when murder is committed is a small, weak, insignificant man. England and France, who have become so friendly to

our Government, are surely watching with compassion the poor Shah, who hangs the constitutional leaders. Perhaps I do not know international law. Perhaps I am not speaking as a practical man. One nation must not interfere with the internal affairs of another nation. But why do they interfere with our movement for freedom? France helped the Russian Government in its war against the people by giving money to Russia. Germany also helped—secretly. In well-regulated countries each individual must behave decently. When a man murders, robs, dishonors women he is thrown into prison. But when the Russian Government is murdering helpless men and women and children the other Governments look on indifferently. And yet they speak of God. If this had happened in the Middle Ages a crusade would have been started by civilized peoples who would have marched to Russia to free the women and the children from the claws of the Government."

Andreyev became silent. His wife kept rowing for some time slowly, without saying a word. We soon reached the shore and returned silently to the house.

Leonid Andreyev's brief autobiographical sketch is characteristic as it is interesting.

"I was born," he said, "in 1871, in Oryol, and studied there at the gymnasium. I studied poorly; while in the seventh class I was for a whole year known as the worst student, and my mark for conduct was never higher than 4, sometimes 3. The most pleasant time spent at school, which I recall to this day with pleasure, was recess time between the lectures, and also the rare occasions when I was sent out from the classroom. * * * The sunbeams, the free sunbeams, which penetrated some cleft and which played with the dust in the hallway, all this was so mysterious, so interesting, so full of a peculiar, hidden meaning.

"When I studied at the gymnasium my father, an engineer, died. As a university student I was in dire need. During my first course in St. Petersburg I even starved—not so much out of real necessity as because of my youth, inexperience, and my inability to utilize the unnecessary parts of my costume. I am to this day ashamed to think that I went two days without food at a time when I had two or three pair of trousers, two overcoats, &c.

"It was then that I wrote my first story—about a starving student. I cried when I wrote it, and the editor, who returned my manuscript, laughed. That story of mine remained unpublished. * * * In 1894, in January, I made an unsuccessful attempt to kill myself by shooting. As a result of this unsuccessful attempt I was forced by the authorities into religious penitence, and I contracted heart trouble, though not of a serious nature, yet very annoying. During this time I made one or two unsuccessful attempts at writing; I devoted myself with greater pleasure and success to painting, which I loved from childhood on. I made portraits to order at 3 and 5 rubles a piece.

"In 1897 I received my diploma and became an assistant attorney, but I was at the very outset sidetracked. I was offered a position on The Courier, for which I was to report court proceedings. I did not succeed in getting any practice as a lawyer. I had only one case and lost it at every point.

"In 1898 I wrote my first story—for the

Easter number—and since that time I have devoted myself exclusively to literature. Maxim Gorky helped me considerably in my literary work by his always practical advice and suggestions."

June, 1908.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

—Drawing by Marcus

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN hardly needs any introduction in America. But it may not be generally known that throughout Germany the name of Harden has become a household word. Among the people at large the name of Harden is associated with fearlessness and courage and victory. When, after his second trial, a crowd of about 5,000 people waited for him at the Court House and carried him, amid cheers, on their shoulders, it was but an expression, in a small way, of the feeling of the masses, who everywhere applauded the man who dared to stir up the hornet's nest, to expose the rottenness in the highest places, and who came out triumphant.

Since then the success of Harden and his small but influential weekly journal, "Die Zuk-

unft," called forth a most bitter animosity among Harden's already numerous enemies, chiefly inspired by a sense of envy. Men like Harden have enthusiastic admirers, but they also make mortal enemies. Thus Harden has been called by some "the savior of Germany," by others he was styled "the betrayer of the German Empire." Harden has been compared with Couzier and Rochefort, with Girondin and Lasalle, with Sainte-Beuve and Taine; he has been called a harlequin and a prophet, and his speeches as well as his writings have been described as containing "fire and force, thunder and lightning."

But, whatever Harden may be, one thing is certain—he is the greatest molder of public opinion in Germany. His intimate friendship with Bismarck gave him a peculiar position as a "private authority" concerning the inner workings of politics and statesmanship in Germany as well as in other European powers. Since the passing of Bismarck, Harden has become the centre toward which gravitate all German statesmen and high officials who for some cause or another are discontented. To him they unburden themselves, and Harden

himself has been called the prophet of discontent.

His fight against "the Knights of the Round Table" has proved successful, even though at the fourth trial, but a little while ago, Harden was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of 600 marks. The men he accused in his articles in "Die Zukunft" are disgraced and dismissed from office. As Harden himself put it:

"The decisive has happened. The German Emperor showed these men the door. Why? This will never be 'established' here. * * * No details are necessary. Can you believe that only the articles in Die Zukunft have led to this step? Do we live in an empire where the most favored gentlemen are driven away because a moderately distinguished journal, by no means favored by the Kaiser, contained a few articles against them? Are old, intimate friends simply thrown out on this account? Is this sufficient for the Kaiser to say to the representative of the former President of the Police Department: 'You need not tell me any more about Eulenberg, Moltke, Hohenau, or Lecomte; these are settled. But I want at once a list of the others of the Court and the Guards'?"

In his last speech at the trial just closed Harden wound up with the following words: "* * * When you condemn me, use your judgment, not your right, for you have not proved against me the slightest guilt. Do it! I have nothing against it. Such things must end in this way; such things have always ended thus in history. * * * It must always be thus. Do it again, if you would take the responsibility upon yourself. Let it be known that the imperial Court has once more tried to disgrace Harden and has convicted him again. I only wish that the sentence be severe (from your viewpoint there can be no question of a fine; such a decision would be incomprehensible) and I am sorry that you cannot go above the four months' limit. Imprison me, brand me, strike me: that's the punishment. * * *"

Next to the Kaiser, Maximilian Harden is perhaps the best known figure in Berlin. If you call up "Wilmensdorf, 366," the telephone operator will ask: "Harden?" That is not the number of "Die Zukunft," it is the telephone number of his house. The German barber, who is quite as talkative as his American col-

league, while shaving me noticed that I had with me a copy of "Die Zukunft," and he immediately went into raptures over Harden. When I hailed a cabman and told him to drive to Wernerstrasse, 16, he looked up importantly and asked: "Herr von Harden?"

As I came to Grunewalde, Berlin's most beautiful section, where Harden's villa is located, I noticed the following legend painted on his door: "Walk in lively! You may enter with dust-covered shoes! But if your heart and your mind are covered with dust, leave us alone!"

This legend was not recently inscribed—it showed considerable signs of age.

Herr Harden received me in the room adjoining his library, and through the open door I could see Franz von Lenbach's famous painting of Bismarck on the wall facing Harden's writing table. From the photographs I had seen of Harden, and from what I knew of his work, I had pictured Harden as a strong, imposing, rather theatrical figure. Instead, he is small in stature, unassuming, and modest-looking. But when he speaks there is something in his face, in his eyes, that reminds one of the Napoleonic cast of features.

We began to speak about German literature and the drama of to-day.

"I have been ten days in Berlin and have noticed that perhaps nine-tenths of the dramas produced in your theatres are translations or adaptations from other languages. French comedies, farces, and detective plays are in the lead. Shakespeare is given, the Isben plays are produced, Goethe's 'Faust' has been revived by Max Reinhardt in a most elaborate form. Occasionally an original, new German play is also produced. What is the state of the drama in Germany to-day?" I asked.

"German literature cannot be said to be in a flourishing condition," said Harden. "Some of our dramatists are writing novels now, but they have not produced anything of importance. Sudermann's "The Song of Songs" is a fiasco. It was a cheap appeal to the lower tastes of the people, but it failed, nevertheless. As in his dramas, Sudermann was here also striving merely for outward effects. Hauptmann's latest play, 'Griselda,' also failed of success. The trouble with all our dramatists is that as soon as they have met success with one of their plays they set up a high standard

of living, and in order to maintain it they must keep on turning out play after play. They must produce even when they have nothing to produce.

"Take Hauptmann, for instance. He has bought eight villas and has grown accustomed to a luxurious life. He is thus compelled to produce unripe work upon the stage. German literature would be in a better state if our novelists and dramatists would rest more than they do. In France Rostand, the most gifted of all French poets and dramatists, produced only one drama after his great success, 'L'Aiglon.' In Germany all—Halbe, Hauptmann, Sudermann, and others—have been writing too fast. Only a genius can produce a drama at one stroke, so to speak. No form of literature requires so much careful work as the drama. The great Ibsen always worked intensively; he rewrote every dialogue three or four times; he reconstructed his scenes until they were dramatically perfect.

"This dearth of good dramas and novels is all the more to be regretted because there is at present a great interest in the drama and in literature in general to be noticed among

the people. Many books are bought now and the theatres are thriving."

"Are there any new tendencies, new currents, in German literature? I see that Russian pornographic literature is finding its way into Germany in translations. Do you think this will exert some influence upon the modern German literature?" I asked.

"Unfortunately, too much space and importance are given to eroticism, to sexualism, in our literature. I am not a preacher of prudery. But I detest a work whose success is attained through pornography. Eroticism does not play so important a part in the life of the people as may be gathered from this sort of literature.

"The fault of modern literature is that it mirrors real life too little. After all the power and efforts spent by the German people on inventions and the development of our industries, the future historian will not find anything in the books written during the past ten years that would give him even the slightest idea of what the people have really been doing. He will find only conflicts of Bohemians;

stories of little girls and artists and literary folk. The treatment of real life, in artistic form, has been sadly neglected.

"There is a strong movement now for 'native literature,' for typically German literature. I regard this movement as worthless. Who wants to resist outside influences upon art today? Assimilation is felt in all arts at present, and narrow nationalism is becoming impossible. People of different nations and countries are growing ever more similar to one another. The national differences are less pronounced than the social differences. People of the same economic conditions living in different countries understand one another better than the people who live in luxury understand those who live in the cellars of the same houses."

"What literature do you regard at present as one that is likely to exert a determining influence upon other literatures?"

"Certainly not current German literature. It is an individual who looms up and introduces a new note. Hauptmann cannot influence others. He is himself a conglomeration of other literatures. You will find in him the influences of French and Russian literatures.

Heine was a strong influence, especially on the young French lyrical poets. Now Nietzche is influencing the minds of young writers. Victor Hugo and Ibsen have had powerful influence everywhere. With Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy came the great Slavic wave over European literature."

"And now?"

"Now we are waiting for the American wave. It will surely come. It must come. It is with literature as with life and with politics," said Herr Harden. "The influence of America is beginning to be felt in Europe. A great deal is being said about the Americanization of Europe, but the accusation that the Americans are money-mad, that they are nothing but dollar people is but a vulgar prejudice which is rapidly disappearing. There are dollar people everywhere. Nine-tenths of the efforts of all people everywhere are bent on moneymaking, and it is childish to speak of Americans as introducing commercialism into the arts.

"Paul Bourget was the first to weaken the prejudice that the Americans are merely business people. I know several American business

men myself, and I am astounded at the interest they take in art. The higher spheres, the nobility, in Germany are not interested in art or literature; they have no libraries and they buy no paintings. If not for the wealthy Jews almost all our artists would have to starve. This abnormal state, caused by the indifference of our upper classes, has certainly had a retrogressive effect upon our art."

Finally our conversation turned from literature to politics. I asked him for his views on the future of Germany.

"It is hard to foretell the future of Germany," replied Herr Harden. "Germany is strong, colossal, and it is growing ever stronger. But the population of Germany is growing, and it is becoming necessary for Germany to expand. Germany must have colonies, it needs colonies for its natural development, and it will make an effort to acquire them. When? Not immediately, but in the near future."

Herr Harden paused awhile, and then went on deliberately:

"The best and most natural thing would be for the Germanic nations, the Anglo-Saxons and Americans, to unite and go hand in hand

together. But England is opposed to such a union because of her antipathy for Germany. Therefore it is probable that England will form a close friendship with the Slavs and the Japanese.

"With a view to the future, if America is sufficiently far-sighted, it should reflect and consider carefully as to what would be best for herself. It would be best for America to look to her own interests, and therefore not go with England and thus help her carry out her policies, which would work to the detriment of the United States.

"If there is mutual good-will between England, America, and Germany, these three great industrial nations will find the possibility for natural and pacific development. But I fear that it will be impossible to avoid a war. The situation will not be straightened out without a war. It must come to it, because the Englishmen are not yet accustomed, they have not yet learned from history to divide power; they are determined at any cost to hold by force and violence that which they regard as theirs.

"The English statesman, who could see

clearly the relations between Germany and England, must ponder carefully over everything that England has experienced with both South African republics since 1900 till the present time, and then reproduce this experience in world politics. Then he would see that it is better to come to an agreement with a great power in the beginning instead of waging war in an effort to kill it off.

"As to Japan, I believe that the United States has made the gravest mistake by allowing it to become so great and powerful. Roosevelt was a very able and energetic President, but I do not think that he had very keen political foresight.

"It was the natural antipathy for Russia that allowed Japan to become great. But the Americans rejoiced altogether too much over Japan's victory.

"I think that America, which has settled the negro problem will also manage to settle the yellow race problem. The great difficulty for America is how to check pacifically the invasion of the yellow races. But the danger of the yellow-race problems will lose its acuteness as soon as the Panama Canal is ready. Then

America will be able to resist Japan. Until then America will have to be careful."

I asked Herr Harden to express himself concerning the Turkish situation.

"I do not regard this liberalism in Turkey as definitely settled. It was said of the Jesuits that they either remain as they are or they can't exist at all. The same is true of Islam. The liberalism in Turkey is not liberalism in the American or English sense. Turkey is a religious State. It is impossible to make such an important change as has been made in Turkey so quickly. It was brought about by officers and journalists, and the people had no hand in it. I believe there will soon be another uprising and the old Sultanate will reinstate itself. The Turks gravitate to Asia. In European Turkey the Turks are in the minority. The officers furnish the sinews, and the journalists, schooled for years in London, Paris, and Brussels, furnish the brains of the new system in Turkey. But the people have played no part in the revolution. Mohammed and Robespierre, the Koran and Contrat Social—these do not rhyme well. I fear that reaction and revolution will alternate for some time to come.

"The situation in Turkey shows the weakness of Europe. Turkey belongs in Asia. Islam either remains as it is or it can't exist at all. Turkey is in Europe because of the rivalry among the European powers, because of their weakness. It is just the same as if Japan would be tolerated by America to settle down along the Pacific. Americans, because of this example, may be counseled against permitting the Japanese invasion in the very beginning."

"Do you think that the recent change in Turkey will serve as an impetus to a change in Russia?" I asked.

"I do not believe that anything will come about in Russia," answered Harden. "The Russian people, all classes of the Russian people, want peace and rest. Only a war can bring Russia to a new uprising. Russia, too, is an Islam. Nothing save a change in the inner life of the Russian masses will lead to the reconstruction of Russia. There must first be an awakening of their inner consciousness, there must first be an inner revolution. But this, I fear, is a long, hard road. The Russian masses have still to learn the difference between the life of the Czar and the life of an apostle."

May, 1908.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY

DURING my recent visit to Russia I had occasion to discuss Russian affairs with the leaders of the various parties in the Duma and with members of the Gosundarstvenny Sovyet—the Council of the Empire. I found among them a number of people who are undoubtedly able to accomplish great things when the psychological moment arrives. But it seemed the time for their activity had not yet arrived. These people, intellectual giants, equipped with great learning and earnestness of purpose, are architect-builders who are able to erect structures according to beautiful projects, but not before the ground has been cleared.

They are as yet surrounded with windfallen trees in a very thick forest. The distance is

PROF. MAXIME KOVALEVSKY

enormous between the so-called Parliament in St. Petersburg and the millions of the ignorant masses, who are enmeshed in a dense net of government organs and agencies, especially created to keep them in darkness.

As a prominent member of the Duma said to me: "The Russian Constitution is to be found solely upon a tiny island—the Tavrichesky Palace—the building where the Duma holds its sessions. The autocracy does not allow the Constitution to go beyond the walls of this palace." The conceptions of Czarism and constitutionalism are incompatible. There are provincial places in Russia, not so very far from St. Petersburg, where it is still dangerous to speak of the Duma, for some official might overhear it and ask: "Are you for the Czar or for the Duma?" But a short time ago in one of the Cossack settlements in the Don region, a crowd listening to the reading of news from the Duma was dispersed with whips.

But the distance between those who worked for the emancipation of Russia and the masses is narrowing—the people have begun to realize who are their enemies and who their friends.

One of the greatest of the architect-builders of the new Russia is Prof. Maxime Kovalevsky,

famous historian, authority upon international law, publicist, formely professor of the University of Paris, now a member of the Council of the Empire. Prof. Kovalevsky is one of the very few great figures in Russia who perceive clearly the actual proportion and importance of events and who analyze them without either going into raptures or falling into despair. A scholar of the highest type, he is at the same time a practical statesman taking an active part in the preparatory work of Russia's reconstruction. His opinions upon the Russian situation are accordingly of the greatest significance. While in St. Petersburg Prof. Kovalevsky presented his views to me. He said:

"The dispersion of the first two Dumas has created a spirit of skepticism among the people. And while the old peasants still remain faithful to God and the Russian Czar, the majority of the young people have come to the conclusion that everything must be taken by force. In fact, they have become a little too violent.

"Looking over the legislation of the Third Duma I must say that it has not shown any necessary economy. The budgets have not

been diminished. The Duma, however, was wrong in refusing an appropriation for the four battleships. Our fortresses at Revel and at Kronstadt are not efficient. They could not withstand an attack for more than three weeks. The four men-of-war we are to have now will be of the same type as the Dreadnoughts and will constitute to a certain extent a defense in the event of an invasion by Germany.

"You ask me why has the Russian revolution failed? I begin by denying the fact. My opinion is that it has not failed, but is going on at the present time, and, if some are despairing, it is because they do not realize the real nature of the movement. The movement is far from being only political—it is essentially social. It began years ago, and its chief result will be the creation of a Russian democracy. Centuries ago Harrington, in his Oceana, expressed the idea, new for his time, that power belongs to those who own the land. Now Russian soil is rapidly passing into the hands of the peasants. The first Duma intended to accelerate the movement through legislation. The reaction which followed was chiefly created by the fact that the Russian nobility was frightened by the radicalism of the measures proposed.

"But the movement, which has for its ends the transference of the land into the hands of the peasants is none the less going on, perhaps more rapidly than before. The Ministers, with M. Stolypin at their head, are buying the lands of ruined noblemen in order to resell them at lower prices to the peasants. This measure is certainly more ruinous to the Russian treasury than the one we had in view, but it achieves the same end. The dissolution of village communities—another obnoxious measure of the same Ministry—is yet on the whole advancing the day of a democratic rising; upon one side it creates a numerous class of peasant proprietors, and upon the other, a much more numerous class of rural proletariats. A collision between them becomes every day more probable.

"Our industries are unable to employ all those who, having no more settled interest in the land, are deserting the villages. And Russian agriculture is not likely to become a secondary branch of our national economy. In such conditions the rising of the country people in the rear future seems to me very probable, and all I hear from persons living in the country only confirms my apprehension. The peasant is los-

ing his confidence in the Czar as the natural protector of the country people against the landed squires. The orthodox church is each day losing even more its moral hold upon the people, because of its total lack of independence toward civil authority and the nobility. The radical Protestant sects, such as the Dukhobors, the Mennonites, the Stundists (Baptists), are gaining every day new adherents among the peasantry. All this is not calculated to suggest the idea that we have not to fear in the future a new agrarian movement. And for that reason I answer in the affirmative your question. Do I think that the agrarian question will lead to new disturbances in the near future? Yes, I am afraid it will.

"In the spontaneous revolution which shall have for its chief object the creation of a peasant democracy instead of a military empire, reliant upon bureaucracy, nobility and orthodoxy, the Third Duma is likely to play a prominent part, in this way only—it will open the eyes of the peasants to the dependence in which Czardom lives upon bureaucracy, high orthodox clergy and landed gentry. I find no instance in the past of a more cynical pursuit of class in-

terests than the one of which the Third Duma is, and will continue to be, the spectacle. From this point of view it may be compared only with the "chambre introuvable" of the French restoration. The Ministry is powerless to pursue its own policy. It does what it is ordered to do by the reactionary alliance of "king, bishop and nobleman." To give you an instance. We were told (Stakhovitch, Arseniev and myself) by Premier Stolypin that he would do everything he could to render possible a collection of money in the whole empire to be employed for the creation of some memorial associated with the name of Count Leo Tolstoy—and the same Stolypin later took necessary measures to prevent any demonstration in favor of our "grand old man." Of course, he did so against his own will and only because he was ordered to do so by the orthodox clergy and the 'Real Russians,' who find a hearing at the Court.

"I see, therefore, no reason to expect that the 'Government' will do anything in favor of the Jews, except propogating the myth that, once emancipated, the Jews are certain to be exterminated by the peasantry. I call this a myth, because neither at St. Petersburg, Moscow nor

in the province of Kharkov, where I own some land, I ever discovered the hatred which the workman and the villager are supposed to entertain against the Jews.

"You ask me what influence the events in Persia and Turkey are likely to exercise upon Russian affairs. I suppose they will induce the governing class—I mean the Court and the high bureaucracy—to maintain the present state of things—I mean a Duma composed of persons devoted to the interests of the minority of noblemen, high churchmen and landed squires.

"The Russian Government is, to say the least, full of the most amazing inconsistencies. Thus, for instance, the authors of articles distasteful to the Government are not punished—only the publishers of such articles are prosecuted. Leo Tolstoy is not prosecuted for his writings, but his son, who publishes them, is punished. If the Government were consistent the signers of the Viborg manifesto, the Deputies of the First Duma who are now in prison, should not have been prosecuted. They were merely the authors of that document.

"How I regard the condition of Russian literature? This question is more difficult to

answer. Periods of transition, such as the one we are experiencing now in Russia, are not as a rule golden ages of literature. Why so? The riddle, if there is one, was disclosed to me at one time by Turgenev. I was insisting upon his writing a new novel, in which the men of my generation would be pictured. 'It cannot be done,' he answered. 'It is impossible to give a definite form in literature to persons and things which have not yet taken a definite form in life.' Applying this aphorism to the present state of our literature I am inclined to think that our young authors do not find it easy to create new types, with two exceptions, that of the 'hooligan,' so admirably represented by Gorky and Arzibashev, and of the social reformer and agitator of whom you will find a less sucessful picture in Gorky's novel, 'The Mother.'

"It is to the same cause, the want of definite form characterizing our present evolution, that I attribute the great development of lyrics. We have several dozens of young poets who seek new forms and new symbols. Some of them, such as Balmont and Valeri Brussov, have given excellent translations of Shelley, Cal-

deron and Lope de Vega, and have written admirable verses of their own, verses that are comparable with those of our great Pushkin. In this our revolutionary period reminds me of that of 1789-1800 in France, when the greatest writer (Andre Chenier) was great on account of his lyrical verses and not of his novels. We no doubt possess at this moment young writers who will be highly appreciated in some ten or twenty years, but who so far have not given, as the Frenchmen say, 'toute la mesure de leur talent.' "

1909.

THE PORTSMOUTH CONFERENCE

PROF. MAXIME KOVALEVSKY, the famous Russian publicist, an authority on international law and a member of the Council of the Russian Empire, presented to me his views on the Portsmouth Peace Treaty. The facts brought out by Prof, Kovalevsky show the great skill employed by the Russian statesman, the plenipotentiary of a defeated country, Sergius Witte, in dealing with the representatives of the Mikado and with public opinion in America, and the documents throw new light on the role played by President Roosevelt in forcing both sides into signing the peace treaty at Portsmouth.

Prof. Kovalevsky said that while some people in defining the significance of the part played by the Portsmouth treaty in the development

of Russia recall one of the most tragic moments in the life of new Russia, others, perhaps, more justly, compare it with Sevastopol, whose fall served as the starting point of an era of reforms as important at the time as the creation of the Duma soon after the signing of the Portsmouth Peace Treaty. He added that he was ready to express the hope that Portsmouth was not only the beginning of Russia's internal rejuvenation, but that it also ended the heroic and adventurous period of Russia's foreign policies. Russia fought willingly both in the West and in the East, now seeking to protect its natural boundaries, now eager to unite nationalities of the Slavic race, now seeking simply to occupy territory supposedly belonging to nobody, and which was so poorly protected as the left shore of the Amur at the time it was taken by Muravieff.

"The final word about the Portsmouth Treaty can not yet be told," declared Prof. Kovalevsky. "But this hardly relieves us of the necessity of balancing our accounts from time to time as new facts accumulate. Much must still remain but half told, and some things must be left unexplained. I am not at liberty to disclose

the nearest source of my information. But I take upon myself the moral responsibility for the authenticity of the documents, admitting at the same time their incompleteness."

Prof. Kovalevsky commenced by reviewing the situation in which Russia found itself as retreat succeeded retreat, and one defeat of Russian arms was followed by another, and those of the Russian statesmen who had made unsuccessful efforts to prevent Russia from plunging into the war considered it their duty to lift their voices in favor of peace. He then described in detail how Russian officialdom was divided on the question of peace at the time America stepped in with its offer to act as intermediary of peace.

"Not only the military spheres expressed themselves in favor of continuing the war," he said. "Their ideas were re-echoed in the conservative press, which was but poorly circulated among the people. The mass of the reading public, judging by the circulation of the newspapers in favor of peace, regarded with apprehension the possibility of new defeats in the Far East. And amidst the peasant element the war, which had never aroused their sym-

pathy, was becoming ever less popular from day to day.

"But the question arises, why was the first proposal of negotiations for peace made by the United States? After a moment's deliberation, such a question may seem somewhat naive, and if we asked this question it was only because the eyes of our diplomats were at one time turned toward other powers coming into incomparably smaller contact with political questions in the Pacific Ocean than the powerful federation which is alone able to contest the sovereignty of the sea by the Empire of the Rising Sun.

"In this circumstance, of course, lies the nearest reason why the negotiations for peace, which were destined to change the subdivision of the spheres of influence in the Eastern ocean, could start neither in Paris nor in The Hague, but in America. America was all the more interested in the outcome of the Russo-Japanese war, since it had furnished to a considerable extent the means for conducting the war. Without new credit in America, Togo's fleet and Oyama's army would have been powerless to finish to the advantage of their fatherland

the greatest conflict thus far between the yellow and white races. If public opinion in America remained as before on the side of the Japanese and all the interests of the United States did not concentrate upon one thing—the speediest conclusion of peace on such conditions which, while satisfying the national self-respect of the Japanese and securing their capacity of paying their debts, would at the same time not transfer into their hands the hegemony of the Pacific Ocean, then the Russian plenipotentiaries, or, to be more exact, Count Witte, could never have succeeded in returning from Portsmouth with the text of the treaty guaranteeing, as we venture to hope, peace in the Far East for many years to come.

"The whole cleverness of Count Witte consisted, first, in his ability to win over public opinion in the United States, which until then was hostile to Russia, to dispose it in Russia's favor so strongly that even President Roosevelt, notwithstanding his personal relations and friendly sympathy which bound him together with one of the Japanese diplomats, had to submit to the influence of the rise of sympathy

in the hearts of the American Nation for the people of the white race.

"Our plenipotentiary has done in this respect everything possible. He also conferred with Jewish bankers—not concerning a loan, but concerning means of protecting the life and property of their co-religionists in Russia.

"At these conferences Witte, promising nothing formally, did not defend, but made apologies for the conduct of Russia with regard to the Jews, explaining that this policy had its critics even among Russia's statesmen, and therefore this policy would undoubtedly undergo considerable changes in the near future."

Prof. Kovalevsky then went on to say that having watched from Europe, through the American press, the change in the people's sympathy from victorious Japan to Russia, he felt hopeful that despite any difficulties, despite the excessive demands made by the one and the obstinateness of the other power, things would in the end turn in favor of Russia. And these hopes were realized, said Prof. Kovalevsky, just because public opinion in America realized at the critical moment its interests, which brought it closer to the white nation—

for the Americans were no longer afraid of Russia's policy of "the closed door," while they regarded with jealousy the sudden growth of the military and political power of the yellow race, whose faith and culture were strange to them.

"When, on May 25, 1905, the American Ambassador von Lengerke Meyer, in an audience with the Czar told him of President Roosevelt's readiness to offer to both warring powers his services as an arbitrator and to arrange a meeting of accredited representatives of both sides for the purpose of ascertaining the question as to the possibility of terminating the war, the Russian as well as the European press seemed unable at once to give itself an account as to why America and no other power was called by circumstances to pave the way toward the cessation of the vainly protracted bloodshed.

"This idea was very clearly expressed in the instructions given to the American Ambassador by the President of the United States. According to the President, he voiced the conviction of all those who stood outside the conflict, among whom also were Russia's warmest

friends, holding that the present war was hopeless for Russia, and that it might end only in the loss of the Russian dominions in Eastern Asia. In order to prevent such an event, which the President regarded as a disaster, and an imminent disaster, President Roosevelt resolved to offer to both sides, at his own risk and upon his own responsibility, without any outside intervention, to ascertain the question as to possible conditions of peace.

"The Russian Ambassador in the United States, Count Cassini, was the first to hear of this proposal from the President. The head of the American Government did not consider it necessary to hide that the speediest conclusion of peace was in the interests of Europe as well as of the United States. Cassini availed himself of the opportunity of remarking, by the way, to the President that the strengthening of the Japanese fleet at the cost of the Russian fleet would hardly be in the interests of the United States Government. Cassini himself carried away the impression that Roosevelt was frightened by the recent victories, that he had an undoubted influence over the Japanese, and that he was favorably disposed to Russia.

"The task of our chief plenipotentiary, Count Witte," went on Prof. Kovalevsky, "was rendered all the more difficult by the circumstance that it was expected of him 'to establish solid friendly relations with Japan, so that Russia's position in the future in the Far East shall be secure, giving us an opportunity to direct our creative forces to the internal organization of the empire and to protect our vital interests in the Near East as well as in the West.' According to reports from the United States, the President gave the newly appointed Russian Ambassador, Baron Rosen, to understand that the conditions on which the Japanese would agree to conclude peace were unknown to him, but that he had all reason to believe that Russia's proposal to stop the war operations before the conclusion of peace would not appeal to the Japanese Government.

"During Baron Rosen's visit at Oyster Bay, President Roosevelt did not conceal from the Russian envoy that in the beginning of the conflict between Russia and Japan all his sympathies were on the side of the latter, but in the course of events on the battlefield his sympathy commenced to turn to the side of Russia. The

complete dislodgement of Russia from the shores of the Pacific, from the standpoint of the political balance in the Far East, seemed to the President most undesirable for the United States. Considering the war as already lost to the Russians, President Roosevelt did not conceal his apprehensions that in case the war should continue Russia would be deprived not only of Sakhalin, but of all her possessions on the Pacific.

"In view of this he advised that peace be concluded as quickly as possible, however difficult the conditions. 'Neither peace at Prut, signed by Peter, nor the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Crimean War,' said President Roosevelt, 'harmed the military prestige of Russia, nor did they check the natural growth of her power. The same will happen again at present.'

"In the United States," said Prof. Kovalevsky, "not all approved the President's intervention in the Russo-Japanese relations, and declared him to be onesided because of his desire to support the Japanese interests and those of her ally—England. Roosevelt tried to show the groundlessness of such an estimate

of his attitude. In official spheres in the United States it was also hinted that the British Government pointed out to Japan that she would hardly ever have a better opportunity to avail herself of her position in this war and to strike Russia a sufficiently decisive blow to render her completely powerless in the Far East.

"These reports," declared Prof. Kovalevsky, "were contradicted by the reports received by the Russian diplomats directly from England, and besides they seemed improbable, for it was hardly in the interests of Japan's ally to create for Japan a position of sovereign of the eastern seas.

"The reports received by the Russian diplomats from London were in time confirmed. In an article on Portsmouth, which appeared in the Revue de Droit International et de Legislation Comparee, we read the following concerning public opinion in England toward both warring nations at the time of the beginning of negotiations for peace: 'Germany as well as England wanted peace to be concluded. The humiliation of Russia seemed profitable from the point of view of English interests; all that was gained by Japan during the war was re-

garded as thoroughly guaranteeing her political and economic development, and the commercial advantages gained by her were so great that they themselves covered all the losses of the war. * * * England was of course glad of the decline of Russia's influence in Asia, but she did not want to weaken it completely in Europe, for this would have strengthened the authority of Germany in Europe. This consideration compelled England to insist upon Japan's accepting the terms of peace.'

"There are reasons to believe," Prof. Kovalevsky continued, "that at the same time with Witte the President of the United States was in constant communication with one of the Japanese statesmen who from the very outset had little faith in his nation's success in that war. I am referring to Baron Kaneko, who was sent to the United States as a financial agent. He was commissioned by his Government to secure foreign loans. Kaneko kept up his relations with the President, and was well informed on all that was being done in regard to the agreement.

"From various reports received in St. Petersburg it was evident that Witte had produced a

most favorable impression upon the President. Mr. Roosevelt did not hide from him that the new account of the situation as presented by him gave rise in his (Mr. Roosevelt's) mind to certain doubts concerning the probability of future victories for the Japanese. He admitted that he had judged the Russian situation one-sidedly. At the same time he insisted that it was essential for both sides to end the war.

"The plan outlined by the Russian envoy shows that Witte knew well the part that was to be played in the final solution of the question by public opinion in America as well as in Europe. Convinced that the Japanese would not weaken in their principal demands, Witte nevertheless did not come to the conclusion that it was necessary to discontinue all further negotiations. 'I am deeply convinced,' he wrote, 'that we must direct the matter so as to attract to our side not only all Russians, but also the public opinion of the whole world. Only then, if we should have to enter into a prolonged war, we shall conquer the enemy, with the help of God. If America and Europe will stop giving Japan financial aid, will cease sympathiz-

ing with her and will be on our side morally, we shall defeat the foe.'

"Witte continued to have no faith in the probability of attaining peace. On the first of August he wrote to the Minister of Finance that there would be no agreement, that it was necessary to prepare for a long war, and that it was therefore necessary for Russia to busy herself with the opening of foreign money markets. The Japanese are figuring, he added, that we will not get any money abroad. And, indeed, all those with whom I had occasion to speak gave me to understand that under present conditions it is more than difficult for us to get money. It is therefore necessary, concluded Witte, to change such an attitude toward us and to follow in this respect the example of the Japanese—and that is to influence the press systematically and to attract to our side influential people. Important financial operations are possible only in America and particularly in France. Germany is not able to give much, even in the event it should evince an inclination to do so. * * * My arrival in America, he wrote, has created the proper atmosphere. If cultivated, it will be possible to

carry through a financial operation; but it is especially necessary to attend to France. It is essential to come to a serious understanding with the French Government, and to do the same with the big financiers of both parties, 'the Lyons credit,' and Rothschild's party.

"Notwithstanding the lack of confidence on the part of Witte in the happy outcome of the negotiations, he agreed to take the advice of President Roosevelt with regard to the order of considering the various questions of the treaty separately. Mr. Roosevelt proposed to discuss first those questions on which an agreement was likely to be reached. Witte had thought at first that such a method would result only in loss of time. In all likelihood, added the Russian envoy, President Roosevelt had said the same to the Japanese, and in this way we may explain why they are evading the questions on which disagreement is imminent.

"From this statement it is evident," says Prof. Kovalevsky, "that President Roosevelt did everything in his power to prevent a breaking of the negotiations. Witte explained Mr. Roosevelt's persistence by saying that, being the initiator of the conference, for which he

was attacked by his political enemies, Mr. Roosevelt would naturally have been vexed more than anybody else if the plenipotentaries were to break off negotiations right after the first meeting.

"On August 4 Witte wrote to Count Lamsdorf, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that in case the peace negotiations should be broken off, Mr. Roosevelt would not take the initiative in calling another conference. Witte added in this communication: 'I have not the slightest doubt that a continuance of the war would be the greatest misfortune for Russia. We may be able to defend ourselves more or less successfully, but we will hardly be able to defeat Japan. The only favorable outlook for the future may be based perhaps on the exhaustion of her powers.'

"The War and Navy Departments," resumed Prof. Kovalevsky, "were for war, and Admiral Birilev, in charge of the Navy Department, ascribing all of our defeats to the inability of our commanding Generals, spoke of the past defeats as unimportant. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs found it necessary to transmit to the Generals in command the latest tele-

grams received from Witte, in which he said: 'I dare to express my opinion frankly that we could categorically break off all negotiations with Japan only on condition of complete confidence that the army commanded by Gen. Linevich can defeat the enemy.' The Russian Government was beginning to feel even more convinced that the time for the conference to end its activity had arrived.

"In answer to a new cable received from Baron Rosen on August 9, in which he transmitted the contents of a conversation with President Roosevelt concerning the possible terms of peace, word was sent from the Czar that the Japanese needed money in the worst way, and that Russia would not give any money, and that there can be no agreement on that point. Therefore it would be aimless to continue this state of uncertainty. Just at this moment, when apparently everything had been tried, and Russia stood on the eve of a renewal of the war operations, Mr. Roosevelt sent to Witte, for transmission to St. Petersburg by cable, his message to the Czar.

"On the same day—evidently fearing lest Witte should not carry out his instruction with

regard to transmiting the message—the President cabled to the American Ambassador to see the Czar and transmit to him exactly the same message. At the same time the President had done everything possible to dispose the Japanese toward yielding. In a letter to Baron Kaneko he pointed out to him that it was not becoming in Japan to continue the war simply for the sake of getting an indemnity.

"'I would not blame Japan,' he said in that document, 'if she had broken off negotiations on account of Sakhalin; but if the war will be renewed merely for the sake of money she will not get it, and will also quickly lose the sympathy of the American people as well as that of other nations.'

"'It is in the interest of Japan,' President Roosevelt said in an additional telegram to Baron Kaneko, 'to end the war at this time. Japan has secured the mastery of Korea and Manchuria; she has doubled her own fleet by destroying the Russian fleet; she has taken Port Arthur, Dalny, the Manchurian Railroad; she has occupied Sakhalin. Japan will be wise if she now end the war triumphantly. From the ethical point of view Japan has a duty

toward the entire civilised world, which expects from her the conclusion of peace. Let her show her superiority in questions of international morals in the same measure as in the art of war. An appeal is made to her in the name of all that is lofty and noble. I hope Japan will not remain deaf to this appeal.'

"On August 10 the Czar instructed the American Ambassador to transmit the following message to President Roosevelt:

" 'Desiring to show his complete readiness in every way to help the restoration of peace, and thus further the desires of President Roosevelt, who has expressed so sincerely his friendly feelings toward Russia, his imperial Majesty agrees to concede to the Japanese the southern part of Sakhalin occupied by them.'"

"After this there could not be the slightest doubt that the continuance of the war was called for exclusively by Japan on the ground of monetary calculations, and this placed her in the position of either disdaining public opinion, which had been until then on her side, or contenting herself with the advantages already made so secure for her at the conference.

"At a critical moment the Mikado recognized

all the disadvantages that might arise for the future of Japan and her credit from further stubbornness. Not, however, until he had received a new reminder from the American Government, or, to be more exact, from the President. Now through Witte, now through the American Ambassador at the Russian Court, Mr. Roosevelt unceasingly insisted that the Russians should interpret as broadly as possible the right of the Japanese to get an indemnity for the expenditures in supporting the captives of war, and that the Japanese in their turn should give up the idea about a war indemnity.

"Notwithstanding all these intercessions the Czar remained unmoved. Witte and the American Ambassador were notified by the Czar that no war indemnity of any kind would be paid, but that a liberal sum would be paid for the care and support of the Russian captives. The Government of the United States in order to induce the Russian Government to yield, found it necessary to inform it of the exact state of Japan's finances, which assured the possibility of prolonging the war for a long time. President Roosevelt in a message to

the American Ambassador—the contents of which were later transmitted to Count Lamsdorf—made this clear.

"On August 23, after the signing of the treaty, Count Witte sent the following cable to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: 'The treaty with Japan, like every other treaty, states only the general principles. There is no doubt that each paragraph will call forth a mass of questions. The bringing into life of the treaty will depend in a great measure upon the manner in which our relations to Japan will be established from the very outset. If the Japanese will see that we really desire to live with them in peace, and that we have no hind thoughts, I feel certain that they too will begin to trust us, that all questions touched in the treaty will be solved to our mutual satisfaction.'

"It was then that Witte recommended to appoint an Ambassador instead of a Minister in Japan—and this desire of Witte's has only recently been fulfilled. It may be said that Count Witte's present attitude in questions of Russia's policy in the Far East is marked with the same care that found expression in the text of the above cable. All his statements, in-

cluding his views on the Amur Railroad question, were called forth by the same desire to live in peace with our opponents and to treat them in a straightforward manner."

In conclusion, Prof. Kovalevsky paid a high tribute to Count Witte. He said: "The Portsmouth peace treaty is recognized in Europe as our only victory during the time of the war—and there is a good deal of truth in this epigram. Our forces on land and sea proved to be weaker than the Japanese, but our diplomacy triumphed over their diplomacy, perhaps because at that given moment it was guided not by a diplomat, but by a real statesman, even though of the 'old order.' "

June, 1908.

President Roosevelt's First Cablegram to Ambassador Meyer, August 9, 1905.*

Please see his Majesty personally immediately and deliver the following message from me:

"I earnestly ask your Majesty to believe that

*The text of these two cablegrams sent by President Roosevelt to be transmitted to the Czar on August 9 and August 13, was published by me for the first time in my article in The New York Times, August 23, 1908.

in what I am about to say and to advise I speak as the earnest friend of Russia and give you the advice I should give if I were a Russian patriot and statesman. The Japanese have, as I understand it, abandoned their demands for the interned ships and the limitation of the Russian naval power in the Pacific, which conditions I felt were improper for Russia to yield to. Moreover, I find out to my surprise and pleasure that the Japanese are willing to restore the north half of Saghalien to Russia, Russia, of course, in such case to pay a substantial sum for this surrender of territory by the Japanese and for the return of Russian prisoners.

"It seems to me that if peace can be obtained substantially on these terms, it will be both just and honorable, and that it would be a dreadful calamity to have the war continued when peace can thus be obtained.

"Of the twelve points which the plenipotentiaries have been discussing, on eight they have come to a substantial agreement. Two, which were offensive to Russia, the Japanese will, as I understand it, withdraw. The remaining two can be met by agreement in principle that the

Japanese shall restore or retrocede to Russia the north half of Saghalien, while Russia, of course, pays an adequate sum for this retrocession and for Russian prisoners. If this agreement can be made, the question as to the exact amount can be a subject of negotiation.

"Let me repeat how earnestly I feel that it is for Russia's interests to conclude peace on substantially these terms. No one can foretell the continuance of war, and I have no doubt that it is to Japan's advantage to conclude peace. But in my judgment it is infinitely more to the advantage of Russia. If peace is not made now, and war is continued, it may well be that, though the financial strain upon Japan would be severe, yet in the end Russia would be shorn of those East Siberian provinces which have been won for her by the heroism of her sons during the last three centuries. The proposed peace leaves the ancient boundaries absolutely intact. The only change in territory will be that Japan will recover that part of Saghalien which was hers up to thirty years ago. As Saghalien is an island, it is, humanly speaking, impossible that the Russians should reconquer it, in view of the disaster to their

navy, and to keep the north half of it as a guarantee for the security of Vladivostok and Eastern Siberia for Russia.

"It seems to me that every consideration of national self-interest, of military expediency, and of broad humanity, makes it eminently wise and just for Russia to conclude peace substantially along these lines, and it is my hope and prayer that your Majesty may take this

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

President Roosevelt's Second Cablegram to Ambassador Meyer, Sent August 13, 1905.

"My second cable was forwarded after the arrival of your first. Japan has now on deposit in the United States about 50,000 of the last war loan. Please tell his Majesty that I dislike intruding my advice on him again, but for fear of misapprehension I venture again to have these statements made to him.

"I, of course, would not have him act against his conscience, but I earnestly hope his conscience will guide him so as to prevent the continuance of war, when this continuance may involve Russia in a greater calamity than has

ever befallen it since it first rose to power in both Europe and Asia.

"I see it publicly announced to-day by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that Russia will neither pay money nor surrender territory. I beg his Majesty to consider that such an announcement means absolutely nothing when Sakhaline is already in the hands of Japanese. If on such theory the war is persevered in, no one can foretell the result, but the merged representatives of the Powers most friendly to Russia assure me that the continuance of the war will probably mean the loss not merely of Sakhaline, but of Eastern Siberia, and if after a year of struggle this proves true, then any peace which came could only come on terms which would indicate a real calamity.

"Most certainly I think it will be a bad thing for Japan to go on with the war, but I think it will be a far worse thing for Russia. There is now a fair chance of getting peace on honorable terms, and it seems to me that it will be a dreadful thing for Russia and the civilized world if the chance is thrown away. My advices are that the plenipotentiaries at Portsmouth have come to a substantial agreement

on every point except the money question and the question of Sakhaline.

"Let it now be announced that as regards these two points peace shall be made on the basis of the retrocession of the north half of Sakhaline to Russia on payment of a sum of redemption of money by Russia, the amount of this redemption of money and the amount to be paid for the Russian prisoners to be settled by further negotiations. This does not commit the Russian Government as to what sum shall be paid, leaving it open to further negotiation.

"If it is impossible for Russia and Japan to come to an agreement on this sum, they might possibly call in the advice of, say, some high French or German official appointed by or with the consent of Russia and some English official appointed by or with the consent of Japan, and have these latter then report to the negotiators. This, it seems to me, would be an entirely honorable way of settling the difficulty. I cannot, of course, guarantee that Japan will agree to this proposal, but if his Majesty agrees to it I will endeavor to get the Japanese Government to do likewise.

"I earnestly hope that this cable of mine can receive his Majesty's attention before the envoys meet to-morrow, and I cannot too strongly say that I feel that peace now may prevent untold calamities in the future. Let me repeat that in this proposal I suggest that neither Russia nor Japan do anything but face accomplished facts, and that I do not specify or attempt to specify the amount to be paid as redemption money for the north half of Sakhaline to be settled by further negotiation. I fear that if these terms are rejected it may not be possible that Japan will give up the idea of making peace or of ever getting money, and she will decide to take and to keep Sakhaline and Kharbine and the whole Siberian Manchurian Railway, and this, of course, would mean that she would take Eastern Siberia.

"Such a loss to Russia would in my judgment be a disaster of portentous size, and I earnestly desire to save Russia from such a risk. If peace is made on the terms I have mentioned, Russia is left at the end of this war substantially unharmed, the national honor and interest saved, and the result of what Russians have done in Asia since the days of Ivan the Terrible unimpaired.

"But if peace is now rejected, and if Japan decides that it is better she will give up the idea of obtaining any redemption money or any other sum, no matter how small, the military situation is such that there is at least a good chance, and on estimate of most outside observers a strong probability, that though Japan will have to make heavy sacrifices she will yet take Harbin, Vladivostok, and Eastern Siberia, and if this is once done the probabilities are overwhelming that she could never be dislodged.

"I cannot too strongly state my conviction that while peace in accordance with the suggestions above outlined is earnestly to be desired, from the standpoint of the whole world and from the standpoint of both combatants, yet that, far above all, it is chiefly to Russia's interest and perhaps to her vital interest that it should come in this way and at this time.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

THE SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM

—Drawing by Marcus

SHEIKH-UL-ISLAM

BUT a short time ago there existed a saying in Turkey that the Sultan is the shadow of God on earth, and that the shadow of the Sultan is the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the religious head of all the Moslems. When in April, by order of the famous Fetwa, presided over by the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Abdul Hamid was deposed, the new Sultan, though very popular with the people, ceased to be the shadow of God on earth. The circumstances under which he has been proclaimed Khalif of the Ottoman Empire have made him a mere figurehead.

The Parliament, or rather the Union and Progress Committee of the Young Turks, is for the present the almighty power in the land.

But there is one man whose authority has increased with the decline of the Sultan's power, and that man is the Sheikh-ul-Islam. Indeed those who know Turkey intimately, are of the opinion that his authority is even greater than that of the Parliament, for while the Parliament has at present the support of the army, the Sheikh-ul-Islam has the masses behind him —the blindly believing, fanatic hordes, headed by the hodjas, the Turkish priests, who exert a tremendous influence upon their followers, and who have on numerous occasions demonstrated their readiness to urge the massacre of those who oppose Islam.

Who knows what would happen, what horrors would be perpetrated, what outrages committed, and what bloodshed caused, if for some reason or another the Parliament and the Sheikh-ul-Islam should clash? The people of Turkey are afraid even to speak of it. But the wisest minds of the Ottoman Empire realize the danger of irritating Islam at the present time, and therefore many reforms must wait for the opportune moment, when they may be introduced without shocking the religious sensibilities of the Moslems.

It is for these reasons that of all the Turkish statesmen I was particularly eager to meet the Sheikh-ul-Islam and to learn from his own lips whether a bridge can really be built between Mecca and the Parliament and whether the Constitution does not clash with the Koran.

The opportunity of securing an audience with the Sheikh, the chief of the Moslems, presented itself to me in the Yildiz, the palace of the deposed Sultan, which has now been thrown open to the public. On Friday, after the Selamlik, when the first concert was given for the benefit of the public at the Yildiz, the occasion was turned into a merry festival and a day of great rejoicing. The saviors of the constitution were proudly walking up and down the beautiful alleys of the park, and the people were rowing in the boats which a few months ago had been used by Abdul Hamid. A band was playing and singing patriotic songs, and the words of the songs, as well as the melodies, though old, seemed to carry a new meaning to the people, who cheered and applauded wildly. It was under these surroundings that I made the acquaintance of the son of the Sheikh-ul-Islam. With him was Col. Galib Bey, the head of the

gendarmerie, one of the heroes of the new regime and one of the three men chosen to notify Abdul Hamid that he had been deposed.

Upon my inquiry whether it would be possible for me to secure an audience with the Sheikh-ul-Islam, his son extended to me an invitation to the Islamate for the following day.

It was about 10 o'clock in the morning when I started in a carriage from Pera to Stambul. The narrow, crooked, filthy streets of Constantinople were crowded with pedestrians in parti-colored gowns and turbans, the women wearing chiefly the charchafs, black dresses, their faces covered with black veils—all walking in the middle of the streets. A jarring noise stood continuously in the air. People were shouting their wares in desperate tones, little donkeys carrying heavy and bulky burdens were braying plaintively, and from time to time a dog barked lazily.

We neared the tower of Stambul, and as it was somewhat too early to go over to the Islamate, I entered the Sulieman Mosque near by. It was a mercilessly hot day, but within the mosque it was very cool. On the floor, in one of the corners, sat a group of four softas,

theological students, and, swaying their bodies back and forth, studied the Koran. They were reading softly, in a sing-song, but the extraordinary acoustics carried their voices from one corner of the tremendous building to the other. A little distance away from the students several men lay outstretched on the floor, fast asleep. These were workmen who had come to the Mosque in quest of shelter from the heat. Men in picturesque garb walked in and, turning toward the direction of the sun, knelt, kissed the matted floor, and prayed fervently. Suddenly the shrill voice of a little boy studying the Koran by heart resounded. He swayed his body back and forth with dizzying rapidity. Near him a Turkish army officer, his sword, his coat, and shoes removed and placed in a heap at his side, sat on the ground, also studying the Koran. The workmen, some twenty-five or thirty in number, kept sleeping, undisturbed by the sing-song of the students. Now and then one of the workmen would stretch himself, rise slowly and walk out, yawning.

I started from the Mosque to the house of the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The square was crowded

with beggars, cripples of all kinds side by side with strong strapping men, seated on the ground with outstretched hands. A woman clad in black, her face veiled, dropped a coin into the hand of one beggar, made a few steps forward, then paused. The happy recipient of the coin bowed his head in gratitude. Suddenly the woman, surrounded by a crowd of beggars, young and old, walked up to the man on the ground and shouted:

"Pray, you rascal! Why don't you pray?"

And he rattled off a prayer mechanically in a tone that sounded like a sob.

Near the beggars lay clusters of yellow dogs —one of the most characteristic features of the streets of Constantinople, the dogs having been aptly styled the Street Cleaning Department of the Capital of Turkey.

The department of the Islamate consists of several large, low, yellow-colored buildings. At the entrance of the yard men are selling beads and cakes. In the hallways of the building where the religious head of the nation attends to the business of Islam, hodjas in fine cloaks and underlings in tattered clothes, and old women in black, chiefly widows of priests, are

lounging around the walls, in various positions, waiting for their monthly allowances and pensions.

My companion, a young Turk, a former schoolmate of the Sheikh-ul-Islam's son, led the way to the old Turk who took my card to the Sheikh, eying us suspiciously. In the corridor we had to remove our shoes and put on huge slippers. The priests and the women walked about in their stockings.

Two minutes later I found myself in the presence of the man who guides the destinies of Islam.

The new Sheikh, whose name is Sahib Molla Effendi, and who before his appointment to this highest post had been a member of the Council of the Empire, admired by those who know him for his liberal views, for which he was hated and persecuted by Abdul Hamid, is a tall, white-haired man of about sixty-five. He wore a white turban on his head and a loose brown cloak, his white beard was beautifully shaped, and his remarkably youthful and searching eyes were smiling from under his large jet-black eyebrows. He rose when we entered and stretched out his hand.

"My son spoke to me about you. I am very glad to meet you," he said warmly, pointing to a seat on the lounge opposite him.

My young companion kissed the Sheikh's hand and made a low bow. When we took our seats, the Sheikh bowed to us again, as is the custom in Turkey.

"I am glad to make the acquaintance of the Sheikh-ul-Islam of new Turkey," I said.

The Sheikh smiled, bowed low, and answered:

"Turkey is going through a crisis now. There is a dearth of men—of strong, great men. I realize that this high office needs a greater man than I am."

He paused for awhile. Then he added:

"I know quite well that I have been selected by the Sultan not because I am the right man for the post, but rather because there are so few real men in Turkey at present."

An old Turk entered and whispered something to the Sheikh. The Sheikh then turned to us and said:

"You will forgive me, I hope, if I will receive a few people here and attend to some pressing affairs. It will take but a few minutes, and then we can speak without being disturbed."

The Sheikh rang the bell and ordered to have tea brought in. He poured it into small glasses himself, sweetened it, and handed me one of the glasses.

In the meantime a white-haired hodja entered, kissed the Sheikh's hand and not daring to sit down in the chair near the Sheikh's low table, bent down toward the Sheikh, speaking softly, in a cringing tone. The burden of his request was that his pension be given to him regularly.

"Allah knows my pension is small enough, and now I am not getting it all," he said tearfully.

The Sheikh lifted his hand to his lips quickly and whispered tenderly:

"Hush! You must not speak of such matters in this way. Everything is being straightened out now. I shall see to it that your pension will be given to you regularly henceforth."

The old priest sank down to the ground, kissed the hem of the Sheikh's cloak, and stepped out of the room backward, bowing reverently.

One after another a half dozen men came in. Some had come to ask the Sheikh to promote

them, another begged to be transferred to a district closer to Constantinople. I saw the priest who wished to be transferred a while before in the corridor. His black robe was of the finest cloth and on his head was a beautiful turban. In the corridor he stood alone, away from the crowd, his pose bespeaking an air of haughtiness, a look of sternness in his eyes. Now, in the presence of the Sheikh, his tall figure contracted and bent down all the while he spoke, an unnatural smile played in his eyes and on his lips as he cringed and kissed the Sheikh's hand, kneeling before him and kissing the hem of his cloak.

The Sheikh settled the various questions with a smile, a word or two, and a stroke of the pen.

Finally he turned to me, his face beaming with smiles, as he said:

"Now we shall not be disturbed. I am glad, indeed, that you have come to see me. There is nothing better on earth than to come and see the truth with one's own eyes, instead of believing in hearsay. Especially is this true of Turkey, now more than ever before.

"Unfortunately so much is being written about us by people who do not know us and

who do not take the pains of learning something about us."

The first question I asked was whether it was true that according to the Koran there could not be a constitutional form of government in Turkey, as the Koran prohibited any legislation to emanate from anybody save the Sultan.

"Why, no, that is all wrong," replied the Sheikh-ul-Islam, with a smile. "The Constitution has grown out of our religion. In fact, the Moslem religion orders a constitutional government. The Koran tells us that the wise men of the nation shall come together and decide what is best for all the people. Thus it may be said that the Koran actually gave birth to the Constitution."

He lit a long cigarette and added:

"The Sultan, of course, is our chief, for our religion tells us that a great nation cannot be without a chief."

As I sat there I recalled how the former Sheikh-ul-Islam had defined the importance of the Khalif. It was at the time of the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm to Constantinople and the Holy Land.

"The Sultan is superior to all the other rulers," said the old Shéikh. "The Sultan is God's representative potentate on earth. But as it is impossible for the Sultan to be present everywhere, such rulers as the Kaiser of Germany, the King of England, the President of France, and the President of the United States have been made his assistants. Under such circumstances," declared the Sheikh, "it is not proper for the Sultan to be the first to greet the Kaiser."

When Sultan and Kaiser met, and Abdul Hamid stretched out his hand first to greet his royal guest, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, who stood at his side, declared in a burst of anger:

"The Sultan is degrading God by degrading himself!"

The difference in the definitions of the Sultan, as given by the former and the present Sheikhs, mirrors the attitude of the religious Moslems toward their rulers in the past and the present.

In the following question I asked how Islam looked upon people of other faiths and upon non-believers. His answer came slowly, in measured tones:

"There is no difference between Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian in the eyes of a true Moslem. All are equal. The only place where our ways part are at prayer—we go to the mosque, while they go to a synagogue or church. In fact, as far as we are concerned, our ways need not part even then, for we Moslems are at liberty to pray anywhere. We do not make the slightest discrimination against those who do not believe as we do. We look upon their goods as our goods, and upon their life as our life, and we try to protect them in every way. The Moslem who does not believe in Moses, the founder of Judaism, and Christ, the founder of Christianity, as prophets, is not a true Moslem. Of course, Mohammed, who came later than Moses and Christ, and who found the world in a dreadful state of demoralization, has improved upon their teachings. Otherwise all the prophets are equal. As for non-believers, we feel sorry for them, we pity them, but we do not persecute them. Our sympathies are naturally with believers, but we are not angry at agnostics. Their conscience is their own affair."

"Have you written any works on religious subjects?" I asked.

"No, I have not written anything. I have never had a moment of unoccupied time. I believe it is a sad waste of time to write, unless one is sure that he can produce a great and useful work."

"May I know who are your favorite writers in Europe?"

The Sheikh-ul-Islam hesitated.

"May I know your opinion of the works of such writers as Goethe, Voltaire, Tolstoy?"

The Sheikh smiled, and it was evident from the expression of his face that he had not heard these names before.

"I have not read their works, for the same reason that I have not written any books myself. I have not had any unoccupied time. But I am of course familiar with Arabic literature."

I explained to him Tolstoy's place in modern literature, the nature of his latest writings, and the reason why he had been excommunicated by the Russian Church.

"What would be your attitude toward a Moslem, a man of the calibre of Tolstoy, who would criticise Islam?" I asked.

"Our religion is liberal. Our religion is free.

Any one may write whatever he pleases. We are not afraid. We would excommunicate no one for criticising us. We look upon the skeptic and non-believer with a sense of compassion. We feel sorry for our critics, but we have not the slightest fear. And do you know why we have no fear? No one has yet written a better book than the Koran, nor can anybody ever write a better book."

In my next question I asked the Sheikh-ul-Islam to express himself concerning the rights of the various religious heads, such as the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs and the Chacham Bashi under the new regime.

"My position does not permit me to discuss political questions," he said. "Of course, I could enumerate to you their rights under the present regime, not in my official capacity. But I have not yet familiarized myself sufficiently with this subject, and it is my rule never to speak on anything unless I know it thoroughly."

At this point I decided to ask the question to which no Turkish statesman is willing to give a frank answer. The Young Turks are afraid to commit themselves on the subject concerning the amelioration of the condition of

women in Turkey, realizing that nothing might so arouse the Turkish massés against the new government as even the mention of reform in this direction.

"Everywhere in Europe and America there are movements for the emancipation of women. Do you intend to introduce in time any reforms which would tend to improve the condition of women in Turkey?" I asked.

The Sheikh's large, dark eyes smiled. Then he lowered his heavy, black eyebrows over his eyes and, after a pause, answered:

"This is a very important question. The emancipation of woman? Ah! that is a most serious problem. But do you know? The idea that such reforms are necessary has not yet been born in Turkey."

"Is it because the men themselves are not yet emancipated?"

"The idea of equalizing the women with the men is not yet born in Turkey and will not be born for a long time to come. At the present time the character, the customs, and habits of our people make it impossible for such ideas to develop in our midst."

"You say, 'at the present time.' Do you

believe that the Parliament will take up this question in the near future and introduce reforms in this direction?"

"I am not so sure that this will ever happen in Turkey," replied the Sheikh slowly.

"What is your attitude toward Zionism?" I inquired after a while.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam looked as though he did not understand my question. So I modified it.

"How do you look upon the emigration of Jews from countries where they are persecuted, such as Russia and Roumania, to Palestine?"

"We regard all people as our equals," said the Sheikh. "We make no discrimination against Jew or Gentile. The Jews have always lived comfortably in Turkey, and the Moslems like them very much. But as much as we sympathise with a suffering race, we Moslems treat all people equally, and if a large emigration of Jews or Gentiles to Palestine would commence, it would become a problem for the Parliament to solve. It is certainly not a religious question."

Suddenly the Sheikh turned the conversation to America and Americans, and spoke with great enthusiasm.

"The Americans are the most progressive people in the world," he said. "They are quick to perceive their opportunities, they possess more initiative and energy than any other people. Let the American capitalists bring their money to Turkey. Turkey is in great need of money just now. They would earn great profits and would at the same time help us to develop along the lines of liberty. They would help us to help ourselves."

Just before I left, the Sheikh-ul-Islam said to me:

"Remember, our religion orders that there shall be a constitution. It does not order this form of constitution or that. Time may change the constitution and improve it. But what is most important, our religion orders liberty, and I assure you that Islam will be the protector of liberty."

After a visit to the various departments of the Islamate and to the room where a few months before the Fetwa had decided to depose Abdul Hamid, I came out on the street. The sun was burning. The beggars and the dogs almost covered the square now. The women,

with their faces covered, a mass of black from head to foot, walked slowly, and, in passing, some of them dropped coins to the beggars and waited for their prayers.

As I passed the Sulieman Mosque on my way from the Sheikh, I saw new groups of people entering the cool house of prayer—to sleep.

From time to time a wild outcry rent the air, and some phlegmatic Turk would bestir himself about his little shop. In the distance a Muezzin, stationed on the minaret, was calling the faithful Moslems to prayer:

"Allah is great! Allah is most great!"

June, 1909.

(The End)

266 5 541